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EUSEBIUS

BISHOP OF CÆSAREA

ON

THE THEOPHANĪA

OR

DIVINE MANIFESTATION

OF

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH NOTES, FROM AN ANCIENT SYRIAC VERSION OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL NOW LOST;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A VINDICATION OF THE ORTHODOXY, AND PROPHETICAL VIEWS, OF THAT DISTINGUISHED WRITER.

INSCRIBED BY PERMISSION TO

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

BY SAMUEL LEE, D.D.

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TO HIS GRACE

HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

&c. &c. &c.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO THE

Christian Church

A LONG LOST WORK,

AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF ITS
MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES,
IS,
IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE OF OBLIGATION
FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS
CONFERRED ON THE UNIVERSITY,
IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE,
BY HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION,
MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR

PREFACE.

HAVING now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall,—because some of the opinions of my author have been branded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on Prophecy,—give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can: leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Cæsarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public.

The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers[1] by

[1] Otherwise styled, The lives of illustrious men, "Vitæ illustrium virorum."

Jerome. And in this, all that this Father says,—after speaking of some of Eusebius's other works,—is, "*θεοφανείας* libri quinque," i. e. Of the Divine Manifestation, five books. After him, Suidas says "*θεοφανείας λόγοι έ*," which is a mere echo of the words of Jerome. Harles, in his edition of the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, speaks of it in this manner. (Vol. VII. p. 408). "*Εὐαγγελικὴ θεοφάνεια*, bis citatur in catena in Lucam in cod. *Vindobon.* cæsareo xlii., teste Lambecio comment. tom. III. p. 166. not. 4. conf. supra nr. 8. Harl".—"Fragmentum ex Eusebii opere deperd. Theophania Evang. e cod. Coislin. Gött. 1740. 4". And again, p. 395, nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: "Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcellum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo cap. 81. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque *περὶ θεοφανείας*. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod *θεολογίας*. Sed id tamquam incertum omitto, quum Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaicorum memorat Eusebii librum *de ortu divino*."

The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. III. pt. 1, and the place in p. 18 of this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, ܘܣܦܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܬܐܘܦܢܝܐ, i. e. *and the Book on the Divine Manifestation.* Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave's Historia Literaria, p. 95, where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled *περὶ θεοφανείας*, libri quinque; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant.

But the thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman's referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of

Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, "Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio," said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our *Theophania;* yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not *known* to exist in that library.

The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 216, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Göttingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press.

It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled *the Ecclesiastical Theology*, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the *Theophania*, or *Evangelical Theophania*,—for by this latter title is our Work designated in the Catena of Vienna:—while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church: and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubted productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many

occurring in the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini:" while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the "Demonstratio Evangelica;" not to insist on several others, found either in the "Præparatio Evangelica," the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes.

There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the "Præparatio Evangelica" will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be any thing but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have betaken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified; the Syriac very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort,—to which many more might have been added,—will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation.

Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a *self-existing Being*, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist,

of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being *God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father;* hence *complete*, and *in all respects like Him;* His having *ever been*, and *still being*, *with*, and *in*, *the Father;* extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like; which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs (p. 50); the state of the Church of Cæsarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher.

From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of Eusebius, so long lost.—But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa[1], had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them,

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[1] If we may rely on the date of our MS. however, presently to be noticed, this Translation must have existed long before the times of either of these writers.—It is worth remarking too, that not only was this work written long before the appearance of Mohammed, but, the MS. itself was written nearly 200 years before he was born!—which may be considered as supplying tolerably good matter for proof, that no expectation was then entertained of the coming of such a Teacher as he was, or that the Scriptures underwent any alteration afterwards for the purpose of opposing him. This argument has been stated more at length in the latter part of my "Martyn's Persian Controversies."

nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the *Theophania* must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony.

Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken.

Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts[1], some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable.

[1] These he purchased at the monastery of the Blessed Virgin in the desert of Nitria (or Askit. The Cœnobium Scetense of Asseman.).

These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in other words, that no other copy of it *was known to exist*, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the *Work* might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was

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situated on the west of the Nile, and somewhat more than 80 miles from Cairo. Asseman visited this Monastery in 1715, when he tells us its Library did not contain more than about 200 Volumes. Of these he requested to have a hundred, but could not get more than nine or ten good authors, with a few others. (Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. Pref.) But in his Catalogue of the "Codices Nitrienses," ib. pp. 561—572, he gives an account of 34 Codices. Some of which were perhaps obtained on a former occasion by his Cousin Elias (ib.); from which, according to Peter Benedict their Editor and Translator, were the Works of Ephrem Syrus published at Rome, in 1737—43. I am greatly rejoiced to find, that Mr. Tattam has just returned from *a second visit* to this same Monastery, and has brought with him another collection of Syriac Manuscripts, from which, I trust, much valuable matter will be extracted and brought before the public.—It is evident that many of the MSS. brought to England by Mr. Tattam, had passed through the hands of Asseman, from certain marks found in them: and this I think is true of ours, as certain pencil-marks are found in it, which could hardly have been placed there by an Oriental.

concerned; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally[1]. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that during the passing of the sheets through the press, I collated every one of them with the MS., so that I do trust the Syriac text, now some time completed, will be found as neatly and correctly printed, as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure.

The MS. containing our Work, is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-hand-writing of the Syrians, on very fine and well prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $11\frac{1}{2}$, and containing three columns each of the width of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, as may be seen in the fac simile prefixed to this Work. The exterior margins average $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, the interior $1\frac{1}{4}$; and the space between the several columns is about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch. The MS. contains 245 folios; 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, as they are called. The 83

[1] London, printed for the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts, sold by James Madden and Co., 8, Leadenhall-street. 1842. To this I prefixed a short Preface, referring the reader to the more ample one intended to go forth with this Work.

next following, the work of Titus Bishop of Bostra[2], (or Bozrah) against the Manicheans; the next 76 folios contain our Work of Eusebius; the next 14, Eusebius's account of the Martyrs of Palestine, as published in the 8th book of his Ecclesiastical History; and the last folio, Encomiums on their excellencies, entitled, ܥܠܐܡܟܐ ܘܥܡܐ ܕܣܛܐ ܘܩܕܫܐ. This last work is incomplete, some leaves having been lost from the end of the MS., and on this account the original date of the MS. has not come down to us in its close, as is usually the case.

We have nevertheless on the reverse of the fourth folio, after the conclusion of our Work, written on the outside margin of one of the folios of the Tract on the Martyrs of Palestine, the following Inscription in a bold, but rather unsightly hand, and in the common Peschito character; ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܗܠܝ ܕ

of Edessa of Mesopotamia, by the hands of a man named Jacob, in the year seven hundred and twenty and three, (and) was completed in the month of the latter Teshrin." (February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (æra) of the Greeks (i. e. the Seleucidæ).

If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the æra of the Seleucidæ, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A. D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidæ), that is, A. D. 1398, corresponding to A. D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of *ancient!*

I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common æra; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common æra; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do,—as far as I know,—always bear date according to the æra of the Seleucidæ; I do not see how this date can be given in our common æra.

As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date, making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written on

skins of a description greatly inferor to this, do not present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78[1]: and this he affirms was, in his day,—about 100 years ago,—as plain and perfect as ever it was.

From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it.

I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than *a thousand years old.* I was not then aware that

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[1] Assemani. Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 486. His words are: "*Erat quoddam Evangelium Edessenum* (hoc est Syriacum Edessæ exaratum) *pervetustam quidem, sed clarum ac dilucidum, ex quo ne jota quidem unum deletum fuerat, legebatur autem clarius quàm libri recens exarati, et unus dumtaxat prior quinternio præ antiquitate ex eo exciderat. Ad ejus vero calcem ita scriptum erat.*" (I omit the Syriac, and give Asseman's translation of it.) "*Absolutus est sanctus iste liber Feria quinta, die* 18. *Canun prioris* (hoc est, Decembris) *Anno Græcorum* 389. (Christi 78.) *propria manu Achæi Apostoli, socii Mar Maris Discipuli Mar Adæi Apostoli, cujus Oratio nobiscum sit Amen.*" If any reliance is to be placed on this document, it will follow, that this *Syriac* Gospel (and it does not say which Gospel is meant) was translated from the Greek probably before the death of the last Evangelist!

a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epigraphe, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an *ancient one* 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457: while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just *twenty-five* years less than this last computation would make.

There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A. D. 340. If then our MS. was written A. D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied[1] out several times

[1] My reason for this opinion is grounded on the fact, that many of the proper names found in this MS. are so deformed by the mistakes of the Copyists, as to make it extremely probable that many Copies had been made from the Translator's Autograph, before our Copy was written: e. g. p. 71, we have ܡܠܟܘܬܪܘܕܘܢ. *Malkuthrudun*, for Μελίκαρθος or Μελκάθαρον· p. 120, ܐܘܡܕܝܘܣ, for ܐܘܡܐܕܝܘܣ, *Omadius*: p.121, ܣܢܟܘܢܝܬܘܢ, for ܣܢܕܘܢܝܬܘܢ, *Sanchoniatho*: p.123, ܡܠܟ̈ܝ,

before our MS. could have been written; which might seem too little. I see no reason however, why this Work of Eusebius,—which must have been a popular one,—could not have been translated into Syriac very soon after it was published: and if so, the Syriac version might have been copied out times innumerable, before the date of our MS.

When the school of Edessa was first founded, I have not been able to discover. It is certain however that it was, and had been, a considerable time in vigorous operation before A.D. 411, the date assigned to our MS[2]. Our Work might therefore have been translated into the Syriac at Edessa, even during the lifetime of its author, or at least early enough to have allowed of our MS. being copied there in A.D. 411, after innumerable copies had been taken from the autograph of the translator, and from one another.

But there are, I think, better reasons for supposing that our translation was not made at Edessa at this early period, but rather in Palestine. We are told by Asseman (l. c. p. CMXXV.), that there were, both at Cæsarea and at Scytho-

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for ܟܠܟܘܛܐ. or the like: p. 131, ܚܨ̈ܐ ܕܡ̈ܐ, for ܚܨ̈ܐ, probably; a corruption so great as to bid utter defiance to critical conjecture, had we indeed had nothing else to rely upon: p. 148, ܗܪܘܕܘܬܘܣ, *Herododus*, for *Herostratus:* to which many others might be added. There are also some other errors, such as ܐܠܟܠ, for ܒܠܟ; ܗܘܠ, for ܗܘܒ. see pp. 187, 223, 302, 276, &c.,—all of which, as far as they have occurred to me, I have corrected in the notes.

[2] According to Asseman (Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. p. ii. p. LXIX.) it had been established from *time immemorial:* his words are, "In urbe Edessa Scholam fuisse Persicæ gentis, ab immemorabili conditam, in qua sacras literas Christiani Juvenes.....docebantur." And ib. p. CMXXIV—V. we are told, that Eusebius of Emesa studied during his infancy at Edessa, but finished his education under our author in Cæsarea of Palestine. His words are (after Socrates, Lib. II. cap. 6), "Eusebium Emessenum Episcopum testatur ab infantia imbutum fuisse literis in schola Edessenæ urbis, quæ illi patria erat, humaniores deinde hausisse literas, sed tandem reversum esse ad scripturas sacras sub magisterio Eusebii Cæsareæ Episcopi, et Patrophili Episcopi Scythopolitani."

polis, (the Bethshan of the Old Testament) in Palestine, schools of sacred literature; and that at Scythopolis the business of interpreting from the Greek into the Syriac language, was vigorously carried on; and, that to this fact our author himself has given his testimony[1]: as also have both Socrates and Sozomen the historians.

If this may be relied on, it is not improbable that our translation was made during the lifetime of Eusebius, and it might be under his inspection, and that of Patrophilus who was then Bishop of Scythopolis. And I think there are certain peculiarities of language in it, tending to shew that it was not made at Edessa, which are these: We never find the form of the feminine plural in verbs[2], as we constantly do in the works of Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and other writers of that school. The pronoun of the first per-

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[1] L.c. quoted by Asseman. His words are, "Scholæ sacrarum literarum in utraque urbe erant. Cæsareæ nimirum, ubi Pamphilus martyr bibliothecam, ut supra dixi, instituerat et Scythopoli, ubi officium Interpretis de Græca in Syriacum linguam vigebat, ut in Actis Martyrum Palæstinæ ab Eusebio Cæsareensi collectis de S. Procopio martyre legitur," &c. "Socrati suffragatur Sozomenus," &c. Lib. III. cap. v. The martyrdom alluded to, occurred in the first year of the persecution of Dioclesian, and it is the first in our author's work on the Martyrs of Palestine. The passage is, as found in our MS., in these words:—

ܒܝܫܢ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܕܢܦܩ ܐܡܬܝܠܝܣ ܘܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܫܡܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܫܠܡ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܐܢ

son plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form[3]. The pronominal forms, ܗܢܘܢ, ܗܠܝܢ[4], never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial ܗܢܝܟ[5], nor the impersonal ܐܝܬ ܠܗ[6], nor the combination ܗܠܝܢ ܕ, in the sense of *immediately*, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun ܕ, as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

The language of this translation,—allowing for the instances just mentioned,—appears to me to be the purest Syriac[7], and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius: which,—although it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text,—is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most *exact copy* of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the

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[3] ܐܢܚܢ, not ܚܢ as in the Syriac of Edessa. Heb. אנחנו. Chald. אנחנא.

[4] For, ܗܢܘܢ, ܗܠܝܢ.

[5] Usually ܗܢܝܟ.

[6] For ܐܝܬ ܠܗ.

[7] It partakes in no respect of the corrupt dialect, termed by Adler "Hierosolymitana," as noticed in his work on the Syriac Versions of the Scriptures, and as found in a MS. discovered by him in the Library of the Vatican.

Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius.

It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelo. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Göttingen in 1832, entitled "Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur;" in which, at p. 103 and following, he has treated on the "accentuationssystem" of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites,—to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts,—appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as *I possibly could*; I say this, because cases occur in which it is *scarcely possible* to say, whether the Copyist intended the

point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, (¨) the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns, and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS.

The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laërtius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose: all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin

Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chrestomathy for the advancement of Syriac literature.

The divisions, *i. e.* the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text,—particularly as it is one of a very ancient date,—for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its *Divine authority*, and *amazing influence*, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled "*Græcarum affectionum curatio*," lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its

context. The *Stromateis* of Clemens of Alexandria, and the "*Civitas Dei*," of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted. If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal.

As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the "Præparatio," or the "Demonstratio Evangelica," was written. My reason for the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time: of the flourishing state of the Church of Cæsarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity: all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the "Præparatio,"

the "Demonstratio Evangelica," or the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author. And again, as both the "Præparatio" and "Demonstratio Evangelica," are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two,—illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only,—argued in order in our Work,—were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.

Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect.

I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this

rather than any other exemplar, and also because the nature of the passage occasionally required this.

If I have in any instance failed to seize the sense of my author, I can only say, by way of defence, that I have done the best in my power to ensure accuracy in this respect. I have spared no pains, and have thought no inquiry too great, to do justice to him. Still, as Syriac Literature is but in a state of infancy among us, whether as it respects the character of the Grammars, Dictionaries, Authors, or other helps of this sort; if I have any where failed, I may perhaps hope for the indulgence which the nature of the case requires: and nothing beyond this do I wish. In all such cases, I shall be most happy in receiving suggestions which may improve my Work, and shall be as ready both to adopt these, and to be thankful for them. Of the Work itself I may say, If it has cost me much labour and research, and crowded upon me an increase of labour, depriving me in many instances even of necessary relaxation and exercise; it has nevertheless brought with it pleasures, which I shall ever remember with the greatest thankfulness. To have had the privilege of restoring to the Christian Church, a Work of one of its brightest ornaments as a Scholar and Theologian in the best of its days, is indeed an honour of which few can boast: while the satisfaction of hoping, that it may be instrumental for ages to come, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, is more than sufficient to repay any labour which its restoration might have cost.

I have now to express my thanks to the Syndics of the University Press, for their liberality in taking upon themselves the principal part of the expense incurred in printing this Work; and to add, that I hope this will not have been thrown away on the present occasion.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

Part I.

ON CERTAIN OPINIONS OF EUSEBIUS.

As the usefulness of any Book must very much depend on the belief entertained of the orthodoxy of its author, I have thought it right to discuss as briefly as possible the following questions: First, The alleged Arianism of Eusebius: secondly, his views of Prophecy, generally; and thirdly, his belief that no restoration of the Jews, and no personal reign of Christ on earth, are to be expected. I think it right to use my best endeavour to place these questions in their true light, because I conceive much mistake exists respecting them.

Section I.

On the alleged Arianism of Eusebius, and on the manner in which he has expressed his opinions.

In prosecuting this inquiry, our first business will be to determine, what the opinions of Arius were: our second, what those were which our author himself held, and how he has usually expressed these.

I would premise then, that in endeavouring to ascertain the religious belief of any writer, it is our duty to abide by his positively expressed opinions, and to attach to his words the precise sense, which it is most obvious he intended they should bear. If indeed, we think we see reason for suspecting his honesty, or feel difficulties in accounting for his conduct on certain occasions, we ought perhaps to put the best construction we can on these things; because the sources, from which they may have come down to us, might in the first instance have been any thing but pure; and in the second, from the little we can

now know of the exact bearing of all such particulars, our knowledge respecting them must necessarily be very imperfect.

Our questions however,—whatever may be the difficulties inherent in them in some respects,—do not appear to me to be greatly embarrassed in these. The great questions are, What did Arius positively propose for belief? And, What does Eusebius appear to have believed, with reference to the creed of this Heresiarch?

The leading opinion of Arius was, as it appears from his own statements, that there was a time in which Christ, the Son of God, had *no positive existence* whatsoever[1]; that He *was begotten;* by which he understood, *was pro-*

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[1] Socratis Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. c. v. "Εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν, ἄρχὴν ὑπάρξεως ἔχει ὁ γεννηθείς· καὶ ἐκ τούτου δῆλον, ὅτι ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός· ἀκολουθεῖ τε ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόστασιν." "Si Pater genuit Filium, existendi initium habet is qui genitus est. Ex quo manifestè liquet, fuisse aliquando tempus, cum non esset Filius: et necessario conficitur, eundem ex nihilo subsistere." We have ib. cap. vi. the Bishop of Alexandria's Letter to the Bishops generally, containing his comments on the dogmas of Arius. After which follows that of Constantine, exhorting both the parties to merge their differences, and not to dispute on matters such as these, which were *small and of no moment!* which Socrates praises as evincing *great wisdom;* and to this Le Clerc seems to agree. Constantine's words are,...ὑπέρ τινος ματαίου ζητήματος μέρους." "*De quadam parte inanis quæstionis.*" And, a little lower down, that no new dogma had been introduced, but as both held the same opinion (virtually), they might well agree together. "οὐδὲ καινή τις ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας αἵρεσις ἀντεισήχθη. ἀλλ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχετε λογισμὸν ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς κοινωνίας σύνθημα." I would remark here, that Constantine evinced neither the mind of an enlightened Believer, nor of a wise Governour; as indeed the sequel most abundantly proved. To be so liberal as to disregard the truth, is as rotten a policy, as it is to deal out secular pains and punishments on account of religious belief, however erroneous such belief might be. We have a similar account of the opinions of Arius, in Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. c. xv. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cc. ii. iv. The Epistle of Arius himself, ib. c. v. The Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, ib. c. vi. Philostorg. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. 3. Epiphan. Heres. v. 69, as quoted by Le Clerc. Montfauc. Collect. nov. Patr. p. xvii. &c. and Cave's Hist. Lit. Tom. I. p. 126. Edit. 1688.

duced out of nothing. These I take to have been the leading doctrines of Arius; and those, out of which, and about which, the great controversy that agitated the Church, soon after it was established by Constantine, originated and was carried on.

What, in the next place, are the opinions positively and clearly expressed, and maintained, by Eusebius? In our following work, p. 5, Christ is termed "the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD, whom the Maker of all generated of Himself, as a ray of light from His own Godhead." He is next spoken of as a *Mediator*, (p. 6,) appointed by the Father, to whose Godhead perishable beings, such as we are, could make no possible approach. The WORD OF GOD is then described as having meekly lowered Himself, become the efficient Cause of all things (p. 8. seq.), the Creator, Ruler, and Governour, of all.

The Person of the Father is then (p. 11. seq.) more particularly described as the (primary) Cause of every thing; incomprehensible, unrevealed, and reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. From Him, the SON, or WORD OF GOD, is next described as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain to beings otherwise perishing. The Father is next spoken of as, in some respects, similar to the mind concealed within man; the Son, to the Word, sent forth announcing its determinations: and this again, in a manner *exceeding all comparison*, and *least of all like the word of man*, which is produced by a mere percussion of the air[1]: the Divine WORD being the *living* minister of God, "THE POWER OF GOD," and "THE WISDOM OF GOD."

In the next place (p. 14.), He is said to be *the God that is begotten of God*, and then John i. 1. is cited as the Scriptural warrant for this. Again, (p. 15.) He is termed THE LIFE and THE LIGHT which cannot be described. A little

[1] Guarding in this against the errors of Marcellus, as we shall see hereafter. And let it be remembered, that, although our author has instituted comparisons with regard to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, his intention seems to have been, only to give an illustration, and not by the illustration to determine the abstract nature of the Beings so illustrated, as this context is sufficient to shew.

farther on (p. 18.), the Father is said to be the Head (source) of the generation of THE WORD, and the originating cause of all, and therefore truly styled *the Father* and God above all, beyond whom no cause can be assigned. From Him, it is added, proceeded forth the Son, the only begotten Saviour of all. Again, He is said to be in all things *like to His Father*, (so also p. 30), and to extend Himself throughout all things. Again, (p. 21) He is declared to be in nothing incomplete *because born of God;* and, as being *God of God*, He is sufficient for all, and Almighty: and is the one, image of His (Father's) essence. Again, (p. 26. seq.) a comparison is instituted between the Father and the Son, with reference to the *Divine Economy*, by a royal court; the King remaining concealed and unapproachable; the Son sustaining the office of first minster, and sending forth the determination of His Father's will throughout the various orders of society under his government.

In Book II. Sect. 3, the SON, or WORD of God, is said to have had *no beginning;* and Book III. p. 178, it is affirmed, that He still *remained with His Father*, notwithstanding His incarnation, just as He was before, *immaterial, incorporeal, and unchanged*, as to *His* (eternal) *essence*[2]*:* and (ib. p. 179), that even when *He conversed among men, He filled all things*, was *with the Father*, and *was in Him.* So far we may perhaps conclude, that there does appear to be a wide and palpable difference of opinion, between our author and the celebrated heresiarch Arius.

Before however, we can fully enter into the mind of Eusebius on these questions, we must inquire how he reasoned about Deity in the abstract, and of created Beings with reference to this: we shall then be able to see, what he meant when he spoke of a Being *generated of God, coming forth of God*, and, at the same time, having *a positive*

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[2] It will be objected perhaps, that the word *Eternal* does not occur in our text. I answer, the term ܐܝܬܘܬܐ is generally used in the Syriac in this sense; and, if it be a translation,—which it most likely is,—of the Greek οὐσία, there can be no doubt on the mind of those who are accustomed to read the Philosophers, that, in this place the *Eternal Essence* is meant.

existence, *subsistency*, or person, and sustaining the character of *a rational agent*.

On this subject then, he has delivered himself most fully and unreservedly in his Præparatio Evangelica. The place to which I now allude is Lib. XI. cap. ix. p. 523. seq. He commences with Exod. iii. 14, where Moses, speaking in the person of God, says, *I am that* (Being) *which I am.* "Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν." "*Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel*, THE BEING *hath sent me to you:*" *laying it down, that God is the* ONLY BEING *truly existing;* and shewing, that *He* (*alone*) *is properly and conveniently worthy of this appellation.* This, he goes on to tell us, is the real source and origin of all things both spiritual and corporeal. He then cites Plato to the same effect, and reasons accordingly, just as he has in our work, (Book II. sect. 24, 33, with the notes, also ib. sect. 44, 46, with the notes[1]). This is followed up in the Præparatio Evangelica, with a long extract from Numenius, (cap. x.), and another from Plutarch, (cap. xi.) which we shall presently notice. We are then taught, that the Godhead is incapable of description by words (cap. xii.); and then that He is *One;* Deut. vi. 4. is now cited to establish this. The opinions of Plato are again quoted, expressive of God's all pervading character, power, justice, and the like; and, as corresponding with this, we have Isaiah XLI. 4; Ps. x. 8; Deut. xxxii. 35; Ps. xxx. 24; Deut. xiii. 4; James iv. 6; and Job xx. 5, according to the LXX. All of which is apparently intended to afford a determinate, ample, and full view of *the abstract nature* of the Deity, as conceived by our author.

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[1] It should be borne in mind, in reading the works of Eusebius, that, as he reasons very much in imitation of Plato, we should be careful to understand him accordingly. When, for example, he speaks of *Being* (ὁ ὤν, or τὸ ὄν), in *the abstract*, he means that *Being* alone which is properly called *God*, as in the following work, pp. 31, 89: p. 96, sect. 33, with the Notes: also p. 104, sect. 44: p. 106, sect. 45; ib. p. 108. So Le Clerc. of Plato. Bibl. Univers. Ann. 1688, p. 387. "Il croit qu'il n'y, qu'un Dieu suprême, spirituel et invisible, qu'il appelle D'ETRE, ou D'ETRE MEME, le BIEN MEME, le PERE et la CAUSE *de tous les autres.*—Hence too, we occasionally find the Syriac term ܡܠܬܐ, *word*, used in our work in the sense of *Reason*, which I have marked in the notes, just as the Platonists did the Greek λόγος.

We are taught in the next place, and in the same context, that all Being must be one of two kinds only; either that which is spiritual, and to be perceived by the intellect only; or that which is material, and is known by the senses; that the former of these is immortal and impervious to decay; the latter, the contrary. And it is elsewhere argued, that of spiritual Beings, those which are brought nearest to the Godhead, are those which partake most largely of its character (not of its essence necessarily): those, which are otherwise, the reverse[2]: that it is through the mediation of the Son alone, that any such approximation as this can be made by the creatures; and that light, life, and every heavenly virtue can be known by them.—That the Son is of the same *essence*, (*οὐσία*) with the Father, is *ever with Him, and in Him:* is filled with all *the fulness of His Father's Godhead bodily*[3]*:* and that, notwithstanding His incarnation, humiliation, sufferings, and death, *His Godhead* remained, just as it was before, *complete and perfect*[4]*, immaterial, all-pervading, almighty, unutterable.* We have here therefore, a full and marked distinction established between the *Divine nature*, and, that of *the creatures*, whether spiritual or corporeal.

The Deity is next viewed by our author, with respect to the *Divine Economy* (*ἡ οἰκονομία*), which term however does not occur in our Work[5]. But this is of no importance,

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[2] Our Work, pp. 24, 27, 29, 30, 35, &c.

[3] Eccles. Theol. Lib. III. p. 195 A...."*ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος.*" "Com. in Is. XLII. "*τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ μόνου αὐτὸν ἐπαναπαύσατο· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ κατῴκησε τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς.*" Col. ii. 9, and again, Com. in Psalm. p. 354. "*ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρί. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ηὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος κατοικῆσαι.*" He adds, "*καὶ οὐ ποτὲ μὲν ᾤκησεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄλλοτε δε αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη· ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον τέλος ἀεὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ κατοικεῖ.*" "Neque enim modo habitavit in illo, modo recessit ab eo; sed *in infinitum ac semper Pater in Filio inhabitat.*" He had just before said, that this indwelling is not such as that of God is, when it is said that He walks in his people. (2 Cor. vi. 16.)

[4] Our Work below, pp. 21, 25, 55, 89, 96, 104, 108, &c.

[5] It is to be found however in his Eccles. Hist. Lib. I. cap. i. twice, p. 1...."*ἀπὸ πρώτης ἄρξομαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν*

as it is most clear, the thing itself does: and, it is worthy of remark, Eusebius is perhaps more particular than the Fathers generally in marking the dealings of the Deity with the creatures, in this respect, at a much earlier period than

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ἡμῶν Ιησοῦν τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίας"..."Ab ipsa Servatoris ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi incarnatione" (dispensatione) "initium ducam." Ib. p. 2...."*ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Σωτηρα χριστὸν ἐπινοουμένης ὑψηλοτέρας τε καὶ κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας τὲ καὶ θεολογίας.*"..."Ab ipsa quæ captum longè superat humanum Servatoris Christi dispensatione, et ab ejusdem divinitatis expositione repetetur." Where we have a manifest distinction made between the terms *θεολογίας*, and *οἰκονομίας*: the former having respect to the Deity of our Lord considered in the abstract; the second, to his office sustained in the *Divine Economy*. This term occurs also in the very valuable Greek work of Eusebius, lately published by Dr. Gaisford, entitled "Eclogæ Prophetarum," (Oxonii. 1842.) pp. 13, 17, 32, &c.—According to the Fathers generally, the *Economy* (*οἰκονομία*) had respect (i.) to the *providence* and *government* of God generally. So Epiphanius Hæres. LXIII. "*Καὶ οὐκ οἴδασι Θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα, οὔτε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς Θεοῦ σοφίας.*" "*Non nôrunt Dei potentiam, neque bonitatem, neque ipsius sapientiæ gubernationem.*" So also Greg. Nyss. Catechet. Mag. cap. xii. Tom. III. p. 67. Chrysost. Lib. I. de Provid. cap. vii. &c., as cited by Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. sub voce. (ii.) To *the ministry of the New Test.* Eph. iii. 2. Col. i. 25. 1 Cor. ix. 17: termed by Gregory of Nyssa, *οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου*. Orat. Catechet. cap. xxv. Tom. III. p. 83, &c. cited ib. by Suicer. (iii.) To *the Incarnation of our Lord.* So Theodoret. Dial. ii. cap. ix. Tom. IV. p. 62. (ib. Suicer), "*τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, καλοῦμεν οἰκονομίαν.*" "*Incarnationem Dei verbi, œconomiam* vel *assumtam humanitatem, vocamus.*" Our author however, speaks of this as being in operation previous to the incarnation of our Lord, (Eclog. Prophet. as noticed above, p. 13), where, speaking of God's appearing to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 19, and shewing that it cannot apply either to the God of all (*i.e.* the Father), or the angelic nature, he says it must apply to THE WORD, "*ὃν διαφόρως καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ὀφθῆναί τε καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐμφερομένας οἰκονομίας ἐκτελέσαι πεπιστεύκαμεν.*" *Whom we have believed both to have variously appeared, even before the incarnation for the salvation of men, and to have effected the* DISPENSATIONS *contained in the divine Scriptures.* He goes on to say, that to Him alone, after the God of all (the Father), is the four-lettered appellation (i.e. יְהֹוָה *Jehovah*) found to be applied. The same is implied (ib. pp. 31, 32.) on Exod. xiii. 21, where the Hebrew text has יְהֹוָה *Jehovah*.

they usually do. For example, he makes our Lord a mediator between God and the Angels, even before man had a being[1]. In this respect generally it is, that he speaks of the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, as he now terms the Godhead, and speaks of *the generation*, or *issuing forth*, both of THE SON, and of THE HOLY GHOST. To each of these he assigns a peculiar *office*, and *Person* or ὑπόστασις, for the aid and benefit of the rational creatures, and in order that all these,—which are capable of this,—might be made such as their rational nature, received from the Son, declares they ought to be; and thence, to be made partakers of a higher nature and of higher joys in His immediate presence above. It appears therefore, that he speaks of the Deity under two points of view. One, under which he views Him in His *abstract character*, and as being the Creator, Governour, and God of all (termed ἡ μοναρχία): another, under which he considers Him, as subsisting in the *Holy Trinity*, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, revealed as such with reference to *the Divine Economy*, and particularly as it respects *the creation, redemption, and final salvation of Man:* directly and positively asserting, that these are of *one and the same Essence* (οὐσία): that the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have proceeded out of the Father; and that, as far as it respects *their offices in the Economy*, they are considered *inferior to the Father*, inasmuch as HE is *superior*[2] to the every thing like ministration, either of office or of rule: that He can be revealed to His creatures, only by the *mediation and ministration* of the Son: and known to any saving extent, solely *by the ministration* of the Holy Ghost[3].

In conformity with this latter mode of viewing the Deity, He terms the Father the *First Cause*, the Son, *the*

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[1] Contra Marcel. p. 8. B.

[2] See page 11. of our work. The same sentiment is expressed by Philo Judæus, in the Tract entitled, "περὶ ὧν ἱερούργουσιν Ἄβελ τε καὶ Καΐν." Edit. Steph. p. 91. "Θεῷ δὲ τὸ ἀκάματον ἁρμοδιώτατον." To be free from labour is most appropriate to God. See also p. 83.

[3] Comm. in Psalm. p. 609. Com. in Is. p. 526-7, 574. Eccles. Theol. p. 171, seq.

Second, and the Holy Ghost, *the Third:* not for the purpose, as far as I can see, of lowering in any degree the *Divine nature* of either: but solely for that of speaking more intelligibly and definitely respecting the *Office* and *Person* of each, as sustained in *the Divine Economy*. Whether Eusebius did right or wrong in making this technical distinction, is not the question here: with this I have now nothing to do. I have only to inquire, what he meant, when he set it up, and reasoned accordingly.

These questions are discussed at some length, in the xith, xiith, and xiiith chapters of the Seventh Book of the Præparatio Evangelica, and again, from chap. ix. to chap. xx. of the Eleventh Book of the same work: from some of which I shall make a few extracts, sufficient, as I trust, to shew what the mind of our author was. In chap. xii. then of the Seventh Book he tells us, that the Hebrews introduce a *Second Essence*[1] and *Divine Power, the Principle*

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[1] The text stands thus: "δευτέραν οὐσίαν καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, ἀρχὴν τῶν γενητῶν ἁπάντων, πρώτην τε ὑποστᾶσαν, κἀκ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου γεγεννημένην εἰσάγουσι (οἱ Ἑβραῖοι). Which Viger translates, "*Naturam alteram*" (incorrectly, and then warns the reader of the Arianism of Eusebius, which he himself had created. See also his note on the passage) "*constituunt, vimque divinam, quæ cùm eorum omnium quæ gignuntur principium sit, tum ante cæteras omnes extiterit, ab eodemque primo Principio genita fuerit, quam ipsi* (i.e. Hebræi) *Verbum, Sapientiam, Deique Virtutem appellare solent.*" Where it may also be remarked, "*constituunt, vimque divinam,*" is any thing but an accurate translation of the Greek. In the first of these cases, he has supposed that οὐσία was to be taken in the sense of φύσις; which is indeed often done by the Fathers. It seems not to have occurred to him, that they do nevertheless use οὐσία in the sense of ὑπόστασις, *Person*, with the view of guarding against the errors of Marcellus, Paulus of Samosata, and others; with the first of whom our author had a warm controversy, "Οὐσίας *vero vocabulum*" (says Suicer sub voce)..."*de Christo usurpari cœpit, quia Samosatenus et Marcellus Filium Dei vocârunt* ῥῆσις ἐκ στόματος, *verbum, quod ex ore prodit: ut docet Epiphanius hæresi* LXXII. *pag.* 366." And hence we are told (page 12 of our work) that Christ is not "constituted in His nature by the *enunciation of names and words*," &c. &c. It is worthy of remark, too, that the Arians were most averse to the term οὐσία, *Essence*, as applied either to the Father or the Son, (see Suiceri Thes. ib.) because, by this, when applied to Christ, His being ὁμοούσιος, *Homoousian* with the Father was implied.

of all created beings; the *First subsisting*, and *Begotten of the First* (*Essence*), terming Him THE WORD, and *the Wisdom*, and the *Power of God*. He goes on to shew, that Job (xxviii. 20), David (Ps. xxxiii. 6), Solomon (Prov. viii. 12, ib. 22—30): also Wisd. vi. 24; vii. 22; viii. 1.[2] had this Being in view. And he then tells us, that this DIVINE WORD is variously represented in Holy Scripture, as sent *by the Father* for the salvation of men: that He shewed Himself to Abraham, Moses, and other Prophets beloved of God, and taught them many things by Divine enouncements and predictions, where it is said that God and the Lord appeared and spoke to them; that the same came for the knowledge of all, as a Saviour and Physician of diseased souls, being sent by a *Greater*[3]. He then cites Ps. cvi. 20. "*He sent His word and healed them*," &c. Ps. CXLVII. 4. "*His word runneth very swiftly:*" and after this John i. 1—5. We are next told, that Moses, inspired as he was, introduces God speaking to His First-begotten Word, on the creation of Man, thus; "*Let us make man in our image and likeness:*" and as agreeing with this, Ps. xxxiii. 9, is cited, "*He spake and they were made; He commanded, and they were created.*" This he says evidently marks the discourse of the *First* with *the Second Cause*, as of *a Father* with *a Son*. We are then informed that Moses speaks in other places of *Two Lords*, as in the destruction of Sodom; "*The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrha brimstone and fire, from the Lord out of heaven.*" (Gen.

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[2] I omit citing these passages in order to save space. I would suggest that they ought to be examined. Le Clerc adds, Wisd. Sol. viii. 19: ix. 2: xviii. 15, 16: which are sufficient to determine the Platonizing character of its author.

[3] Here Viger warns us again, that this is *to be read with caution.* "Locus hic cautè legendus." But, might he not as well have cautioned us against St. John, nay against our Lord Himself, in the same way, where it is said, "*My Father is greater than I?*" (Chap. xiv. 28.) The question is not so much in cases of this sort, as to what the naked words are, but as to the manner in which we ought to view them. Our author is manifestly speaking here of our Lord as engaged in the office of *a ministering servant in the Divine Economy;* and this as before, prior to His Incarnation: which however he has, more than once, affirmed had no influence whatever in lowering the character of His Divine nature.

xix. 24). So "*The Lord said unto my Lord*," &c. (Ps. cx. 8.) is a similar place: and, in the same (Ps. ver. 4.) the inexplicable and mysterious *Generation* of the Son is intimated. In the same work (Lib. XI. CC. XXIII. XIV.) the same question is discussed; and here, Prov. viii. 12, 22. seq. is cited, as is also, Wisd. vi. 24; vii. 25; viii. 1, as already remarked. All of which appears to me, to have been intended to mark, as existing under the former dispensation, a recognition of the distinct *personality* and *Divinity* of the Son; it being more than once affirmed, that this *Person* was that designated by the name *Jehovah* (τετράγραμμον) under that dispensation[1].

We are next presented with an account of THE WORD, according to the mind of Philo Judæus, and Aristobulus, a Jewish writer contemporary with the Ptolemies; the most remarkable parts of which only I shall notice. Philo tells us then,—after stating that the Divine Oracles well ascribe the *Image of God* to THE WORD, as to *a second God*; no mortal nature being adequate to the bearing of such impres-

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[1] This inquiry is prosecuted to a still greater length, in the work of our author lately published by Dr. Gaisford, entitled "*Eclogæ Prophetarum.*" I will here point out a few places only. In pages 5, 6, we have Gen. xi. 5, 6, 7 cited, where the term יְהוָה is used, and is applied by our author to Christ, as ministering to the Father in the *Divine Economy.* Again (p. 6 seq.), Gen. xii. 1. 7: xiii. 14: xv. 1, 7. (Not Gen. 7, as there marked). xvii. 1: xviii. 1: 16—20, 22—25, 33. All of which, we are told (p. 9), cannot, as revealed to Abraham and enounced in the four-lettered name (i.e. *Jehovah*), apply either to any Angel, or to any Divine Power a little superior to the Angels, but does *to God Himself.* After noticing some other passages, in which mere angels are said to have appeared as to Abraham and Lot, we are told (p. 11 seq.) that a comparison of the Old with the New Testament, will shew that the Father is *invisible,* nevertheless that *God* is said both by Moses and the Prophets to have variously appeared. (Is. vi. 5 is pointed out, which St. John, xii. 41 explains of Christ, all of which is referred to Christ, (ib. p. 13), and as done by him under the *Divine Economy,* even *before His incarnation,* as already noticed. I mention these few places, merely as specimens of our author's mode of treating on the Person of Christ, which I think could not have been done by any Arian. Similar interpretations of places in Genesis are given by Cyril of Alexandria against Julian. Lib. VIII. p. 267, &c. Edit. 1696. et ib. p. 292 seq. as they also are by Theodoret in his work published by Dr. Gaisford, p. 84 seq.

sion, and the like,—that THE ETERNAL WORD OF THE EVERLASTING GOD, *is the most powerful and firm support of all things.* "Λόγος δ' ὁ ἀίδιος Θεοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου, τὸ ὀχυρώτατον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων ἐστίν." Where we may observe, the WORD (Λόγος) is said to be *eternal;* as it is above, to be *a second God.* Philo proceeds, very much in the manner of our author[2], "οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταθεὶς, δολιχεύει τὸν φύσεως ἀήτητον δρόμον, συνάγων τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ συσφίγγων. δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄῤῥητον τοῦ παντὸς, ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίει Πατήρ." Which Viger translates, "Hoc enim illud est, cujus arbitrio dum à mediis ad extrema, simúlque à summis ad media pertinet, constitutus ac perpetuus naturæ cursus peragitur. Partes enim omnes inter se se consociat atque constringit, quod illud Pater, à quo genitum est, firmissimum quoddam totius universi vinculum esse voluerit." Aristobulus (ib. Lib. VII. cap. xiv.) tells us, that the *Wisdom* which Solomon describes (Prov. viii.) as being prior to the creation of the world, the Stoïcs consider as a sort of Lamp to be followed during their whole lives, in order to be preserved from every sort of perturbation. Again, (Lib. XI. c. xv.) Philo goes on: "Ευπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἑταιρίαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις, ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ὂν ἰδεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱερώτατον Λόγον." "Decet enim, eos qui cum scientiâ societatem inierunt, ejus quod EST, videndi desiderio teneri: aut si minus id possint, ejus saltem IMAGINIS, hoc est sacratissimi VERBI." And again, (ib.) "Κἂν[3] μηδέπω μέντοι τυγχάνῃ τις ἀξιόχρεως Υἱὸς Θεοῦ προσαγορεύεσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ Λόγον... καὶ γὰρ Αρχὴ, καὶ Ονομα Θεοῦ, καὶ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα Ανθρωπος, καὶ ὁ ὁρῶν Ισραὴλ, προσαγορεύεται." Ut quis minùs adhuc filii Dei appellatione dignus fuerit, se ipsum tamen ad *primogenitum* illius *Verbum*... conformare conetur. Etenim *Principium*, *Dei Nomen*, *Verbum*, Homo secundum *Imaginem*, et videns Israel appellatur." A little lower down ("*the Man whose name is Anatole* (lit. *Rising as of the Sun*, Auth. Vers.

[2] Theoph. p. 7, seq.

[3] Zech. vi. 12, according to the LXX.

the Branch)[1] is said to have been spoken of by one of the friends of Moses; and He is said to have been thus named, who is otherwise called the *Firstborn*, because the Father of all caused Him to arise (as the Sun): "τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον Υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἀνέτειλε Πατήρ, ὃν ἑτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὠνόμασε."

It must be obvious I think from all this, that, whatever Philo and Aristobulus might have been as Platonists, they could not, as Jews, have supposed this *second God* to have been any thing less than *Jehovah Himself;* and this Philo seems to imply when he says, that He is the Being, termed the *Beginning*[2] or *Principle*, the *Name of God*, and WORD; the *Man* according to *Image*, and *the seeing Israel*[3], (comp. Gen. xvi. 13.) The *name* of God, it is well known, is often put for *God* in the Old Testament[4]. In this respect therefore there is, if we may rely on this reasoning, between Philo and our author a complete agreement.

The opinions of Plato, on the *Second Cause* or *Deity*, will be found in the Præparatio Evangelica of our author,

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[1] This passage is found in Philo's work, entitled, περὶ συγχυσέως διαλεκτῶν. Edit. Steph. p. 231.

[2] Alluding perhaps to Is. xli. 4, &c. In the Tract however, περὶ τοῦ τίς τῶν θείων, &c. p. 343. Edit. Steph. God is said to be the *Principle or Beginning of generation.* "ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ γενέσεως ὁ Θεός."

[3] The place probably had in view is Gen. xvi. 13, where it is said that "*She called the name of the Lord* (*Jehovah* יְהוָה), that *spake unto her, Thou God seest me:*" where Israel seems to stand for the Hebrew El אֵל. Philo explains this passage, in the outset of his Tract entitled "περὶ φυγαδων," (p. 306), and says, that the Angel who met Hagar was the DIVINE WORD (θεῖον λόγον): which the Hebrew text shews was *Jehovah.* Again, in the Tract "περὶ ὀνείρων," ib. p. 400, *The Archangel, the Lord,* is said to have stood on the top of the ladder (in Jacob's dream, Gen. xxviii. 13.) ἐμήνυε δὲ τὸ ὄναρ, ἐστηριγμένον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον κύριον.....and to have said, *I am the Lord God of Abraham thy Father, &c.* Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Αβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου, κ.τ.λ. Where there can be no doubt, the DIVINE WORD is meant; and, that it is intended to identify this with *Jehovah.* Many similar places may be cited: but this is unnecessary.

[4] Cruden's Concord. under "Name," will supply the places.

(Lib. xi. cap. ix. xvi., and ib. xvii, as taken from his Commentator Plotinus; ib. xviii. from Numenius; ib. xix. from Amelius), and in the Second Book of our following Work (sectt. 24, 27, 29); they need not therefore be repeated here. Nor is it intended to enter at length either on the opinions of Plato, or on those of his Commentators. It will be sufficient for our purpose, and it will have greater weight, to state, as briefly as we can, the general results arrived at by Cyril of Alexandria,—a writer by no means likely to favour Arian views,—and Theodoret, the very elegant, learned, and judicious Bishop of Cyrus, on this subject.

Cyril then, in his work against Julian (Lib. viii. p. 267 seq. Edit. 1696), after citing Gen. i. 26. '*Let us make man in our image*,' &c. as well as several other passages, and shewing that both *the Son and Holy Ghost* are here implied, as subsisting in the Deity, proceeds (p. 270) to shew, that even the Philosophers acknowledged *three primitive Subsistences;* and held, that to *the Essence of the Deity* there appertained *Subsistences to the number of three:* sometimes too, laying down the term *Trinity*, they assent to the opinions of the Christians; nor would any thing have been wanting to them, if they had chosen to apply the term *Homoousian* to the *three Subsistences*[5].

We have in the next page (271) a citation from Porphyry stating, that Plato extended the *Essence* of the Deity

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[5] His words are,..."τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις ὑποτιθέμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσήκειν ἰσχυρισάμενοι, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς τριάδος τιθέντες ὄνομα, ταῖς χριστιανῶν συμφέρονται δόξαις, ἐλελοίπει δ' ἂν πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν, εἰ τὸν τῆς Ὁμοουσιότητος λόγον ἐφαρμόττειν ἤθελον ὑποστάσεσι ταῖς τρισίν." We have in the Bibl. Univers. of Le Clerc (Ann. 1688, p. 393) a passage cited from Porphyry, in which the term *Trinity* occurs. "Platon, dit Porphyre, a enseigné que l'essence divine peut s'entendre jusqu'à trois hypostases, &c....de sorte que c'est par l'Esprit qu'il faut commencer à conter *la Trinité* τὴν τριάδα, &c." He has also shewn in the same work, that the terms *Homoousian* ὁμοούσιος, *Eterousian* ἑτερούσιος, *Hypostasis* ὑπόστασις, *Essence* οὐσία, and others common to the Fathers, had been used much in the same sense by the Platonists. He has also given a good outline on the general subject now before us, which he concludes, by condemning our author as an Arian.

as far as to *three Subsistences*; that the supreme God was (the chief) *Good;* that after Him was the *second*, the *Maker of the world;* and the *third*, was the *Soul* of the world: (implying) that *the Deity* extended to (this) Soul[1]. And the conclusion of Cyril upon this is, that, as no difference can subsist between those that are of the *same nature* (φύσις, i. q. οὐσία)[2] it may be sufficient for the Christians to believe, as these Philosophers did, in a *Divinity extended to three Subsistences*, and hence to be mindful of the *Trinity* (so propounded).

Plato's Epinomis, and Epistle to Hermias, Erastus, and Coriscus, are then cited, (Book II. sects. 27, 29 below), and commented upon, as is the passage from Numenius the Pythagorean (p. 272), and that from Plotinus (p. 273), which have also been cited by our author. In the last, the *supreme Deity* is termed the *Most Perfect:* the *Second Cause* the *Mind*, and the *Image of God:* and these are said (p. 274) to be the *Generating* and the *Generated;* to be *one* and *inseparable*, although *distinct*. In the former, the *First God* is, it is said, to be considered the *Father of the Maker of the World*[3]. And the *Second and Third God*,

[1] The words are: "ἄχρι γὰρ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἔφη Πλάτων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν μέν ἀνώτατον Θεόν τ' Ἀγαθὸν, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιουργὸν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου Ψυχήν. ἄχρι γὰρ ψυχῆς τὴν θεότητα προελθεῖν."

[2] As it is desirable fully to understand the Fathers when using the term οὐσία, with reference to the Deity, I think it right to give in this place their own manner of defining it. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria speak thus of it: "Οὐσία ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα αὐθύπαρκτον, μὴ δεόμενον ἑτέρου πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύστασιν." "*Essentia est res per se subsistens, quæ nullo alio indiget ad sui constitutionem.*" And Athanasius again, on the Trinity: Ἡ οὐσία τὴν κοινότητα σημαίνει· καὶ εἴτί ἐστιν ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας, τοῦτο κοινόν ἐστι τῶν ὑποστάσεων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν οὐσίαν." "*Essentia communitatem notat; et si quid essentiæ proprium est, id commune est personis, quæ sub essentia sunt.*" See Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce. Theodoret's reasoning on Plato's Epistles, &c. will afford some good exemplifications of the application of this. Gaisford's Edit. p. 87, seq.

[3] "τοῦ δημιουργοῦντος δὲ Θεοῦ χρὴ εἶναι νομίζεσθαι πατέρα τὸν πρῶτον Θεόν."

as *one*[4]. To this Cyril objects as inconsistent, although he does not appear averse to the doctrine generally; which may be inferred from his stating (p. 273), that he finds the knowledge *of the Holy Trinity* among the wise men of the Greeks, as most closely connected and admitting of nothing intervening: that they say, these (Subsistences) are present with one another; and that the order which *the Mind* has to *the First*, the same in like manner has the *Third* or *Soul*, to the *Mind* which is (derived) from *the First*[5]. Where, as it should seem, no *inferiority of nature* in either could have been intended, although *a distinction of order* is insisted upon.

We have, in the next place, a description of the *Spirit* or *Soul* of the world also from Plotinus, (ib. p. 275), to the effect that it affords life to all, whether on the earth, in the air, or the heavens: that this formed the Sun, the great Heavens, this makes them to revolve; and, that being of a nature different from that of the things so formed, and moved, and to which it gives life, it is necessarily more honourable than they: these having been made, and being subject to destruction; but it ever existing[6], &c. And, a little lower down, after matter much to the same effect, it is said, that this *Spirit* is *like to the Father that generated it*, both as to its *Unity, and Ubiquity*[7]. This Cyril affirms, points out the creative and enlivening energy of the Holy Ghost, which is in nature *not diverse* from that of *the Father, or of the*

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[4] "ὁ Θεὸς μέντοι ὁ δεύτερος καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔστιν ὁ εἷς."

[5] "Πλὴν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνοῦσαν ἐυρήσομεν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων σοφοῖς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὴν γνῶσιν. προσεχέστατα γὰρ, καὶ μεσολαβοῦντος οὐδενὸς, ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι φασὶν αὐτὰ, καὶ ἣν ἂν ἔχοι τάξιν πρός γε τὸ πρῶτον ὁ Νοῦς, ταύτῃ ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν τρίτην τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσχηκέναι φασὶν πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου δεύτερον Νοῦν."

[6] "Πᾶσα Ψυχὴ, ὡς αὐτὴ ζῶα μὲν ἐποίησε πάντα, ἐμπνεύσασα αὐτοῖς ζωὴν, ἄτε γῇ τρέφει, ἄτε θάλασσα, ἄτε ἐν ἀέρι ἄτε ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα θεῖα. αὐτὴ δὲ ἥλιον, αὐτὴ δὲ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον οὐρανὸν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκόσμησεν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐν τάξει περιάγει, φύσις οὖσα ἑτέρα ὧν κοσμεῖ καὶ ὧν κινεῖ καὶ ζῆν ποιεῖ. καὶ τούτων ἀνάγκη εἶναι τιμιωτέραν, γινομένων μὲν τούτων καὶ φθειρομένων."

[7] "Τῷ γεννήσαντι πατρὶ ὁμοιουμένη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἓν κατὰ τὸ πάντη."

Son[1]. To this is added another extract from Plotinus, nearly to the same effect; to the weakness of the comparisons, instituted in which, Cyril objects: although he does not to the general doctrine taught; and, what is more to our purpose, maintains that *no inferiority exists in the Persons.*

This subject is touched upon by our author in his Præp. Evang. (Lib. xi. cap. xx. p. 541), where he tells us, that the Hebrew Oracles place the Holy Spirit *third in order*, with respect to the Father and the Son; and, in such a manner, lay down the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, that by this *Third Power* all created nature is surpassed[2]. He then gives Plato's letter to Dionysius, which states the matter thus: about the *King of all* are all things, and His are all things, He too is the Author of all good things. But the *Second* (Cause) is about the things *second;* and the *Third*, about the *third*[3]. He remarks upon this, that those who undertake to explain the mind of the Philosopher, refer these things to the *First*, *Second*, and *Third*, *Cause* or *Soul* of the world, which they also determine to be a third God; but, he adds, the Sacred Scriptures place the *Holy and blessed Trinity*, the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, in the predicament of PRINCIPLE, according to the things already given[4].

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[1] "Αρ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ μάλα σαφῶς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δημιουργικήν τε καὶ ζωτικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν διαδείκνυσι"..... "καὶ οὐκ ἑτέρα φύσις ἐστὶ παρά γε τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἤγουν τοῦ Υἱοῦ."

[2] "Τῶν παρ' Εβραίοις λογίων μετὰ τὸν περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ λόγον, ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καταλεγόντων· καὶ τήν γε ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν Τριάδα τοῦτον ὑποτιθεμένων τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἂν τῆς τρίτης δυνάμεως πᾶσαν ὑπερβεβηκυίας γενητὴν φύσιν."

[3] "Παρὰ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἐστι, καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνος Αιτιον ἁπάντων καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ παρὰ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον παρὰ τὰ τρίτα."

[4] "Ταῦτα οἱ τὸν Πλάτωνα διασαφεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν ἀνάγουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Αιτιον, καὶ τρίτον τὴν τοῦ Κόσμου Ψυχην. Θεὸν τρίτον καὶ αὐτὴν ὁριζόμενοι εἶναι. οἱ δέ γε θεῖοι λόγοι, τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν Τριάδα, Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τάττουσι, κατὰ τὰ ἀποδεδομένα." The sense and bearing of ἀρχὴ, as applied by the Philosophers, is thus

It will be found that Theodoret has adopted reasoning on these passages, quite in unison with that of Eusebius and Cyril of Alexandria, as just now noticed. And, as a very neat Edition of this portion of Theodoret's works, by Dr. Gaisford, is accessible to all, it is the less necessary I should cite much from it. This subject will be found discussed at p. 87. seq. of Dr. Gaisford's publication, as it will in Tom. IV. p. 498. B. of the Edition of 1642. The only question I shall now touch upon, is one which has been discussed and pronounced upon, in similar terms, by these three Fathers. I mean, the opinions expressed by Amelius on the first few verses of St. John's Gospel. (Præp. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. xix. p. 540. Cyril contra Julian. Lib. VIII. p. 283. Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 92.)

The reasoning of Amelius on John i. 1, &c. is to this effect: This then was THE WORD, according to which,—*ever existing*,—the things in being were made, even as Heraclitus also deemed: and indeed, the Barbarian thinks it right to have placed Him in the order and dignity of *Principle*, and to be *with God*, and to *be God:* that by Him alone (singly) all things were made; in whom, that which was made became living, and life, and Being: that he descended into Body, put on flesh, and appeared as man: after which, he then also shewed the greatness of His nature; and being forthwith set free (by death), returned to the Deity, and was God, such as He was before He descended to the Body, the flesh, and the man[5].—Which,

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given by Timæus Locrensis. (Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 101.) "Μία ἀρχὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγέννητος· εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἔτι ἀρχὰ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνα ἐξ ἃς ἀρχὰ ἐγένετο." *There is one ungenerated* PRINCIPLE *of all things; for, if it were generated, it would not then be Principle, but that* (would be) *Principle out of which it were generated.* See also Suidas sub voce.

[5] The following is the text of Eusebius, which differs in a few particulars from that of Dr. Gaisford, and of Cyril. "Καὶ οὗτος ἀρὰ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγένετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ηράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε, καὶ νή. Δι' ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ καθεστηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ παιθ' ἁπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζωὴν, καὶ ὂν πεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα (meliùs τε σῶμα) πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον,

according to the opinion of these three Fathers, truly sets forth the *Divine* character of our Lord. And I may here affirm that, if these Fathers (i. e. Cyril and Theodoret) cannot be justly charged with Arianism, because they have made this use of the Greek Philosophers, and have set to their seal, that the view which treats *the Father* as the *First Cause*, *the Son as the Second*, and *the Holy Ghost* as the *Third*, in the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, does not tend to lower the Divine nature of either; neither can our author, who has only done the same thing, and this I think, in every case, with regard to *the Divine Economy*. It ought to be borne in mind too, these Fathers believed that the Philosophers universally took these notions from *the Holy Scriptures*, whether right or wrong signifies nothing to our argument. They held accordingly, that the statements so made conspired with revealed truth, and thence they cited them. For my own part, I believe they were right in so doing, as I can discover no other source, from which they could have possibly been taken[1].

μενον, φαντάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθεοῦσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι." It certainly does seem, from the reasoning of Philo on the *Logos* (λόγος), and from the Targumists, who use the term מֵימְרָא (*Word*) in the same way, as well as from St. John's adoption of the term (λόγος), that this mode of viewing the Deity, with reference to *the Divine Economy*, had then got very considerable footing among the Jews,—from whose Scriptures it was, as I think, most probably taken at first. St. John's statement is moreover, that this Being "*was made flesh, and dwelt among us:*" adopting, apparently, the general belief on this subject as correct, but taking care to restrict it to the Person of our Lord.

[1] See the Præp. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xii. Clemens Alexand. ib. cap. xiii. Le Clerc, Bibl. Univers. Ann. 1688, p. 403, seq. Theodoret. ib. p. 91, seq. tells us that Plotinus, who wrote a book on the *three Hypostases*, Plutarch, Numenius, and others, of the same class, coming *after the advent of our Lord*, inserted many things of the Christian Theology in their works. Plotinus therefore and Numenius, explaining the mind of Plato, state that he spoke of *three time-exceeding and eternal* (Beings), the (chief) *Good, the Mind,* and *the Soul of all;* which, he goes on to say, we term *the Father, the Son,* and *the Holy Ghost.* "Καὶ Πλωτῖνος...περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων βιβλίον ξυνέγρα-

It is true Cyril has, as noticed above, occasionally expressed his dissatisfaction with certain modes of comparison instituted by the heathen Philosophers, whose opinions and expressions our author occasionally adopted: and of this, Viger and others have availed themselves, to his injury. But it is not with modes of expression merely that we have now to deal; it is, with these, also to ascertain as far as we can, *the things* discussed and positively intended. All must see that every sort of comparison, instituted with respect to the Deity, must be inadequate; and consequently, that if we endeavour to ascertain a writer's opinions, through a medium so faulty and insufficient, the result must be, we shall either deceive ourselves, or injure him. Our author has however, guarded himself abundantly against this again and again, declaring, that the nature of the Deity exceeds every effort of comparison or description; whence it should seem, he intended to provide, that his opinions should not be judged of in a way so unlikely to do them justice. If he has adopted too much of the Platonic mode of reasoning, or entered too particularly into questions, on which later times have deemed it prudent to say little or nothing; these are things with which we have now nothing to do: all we have before us is, simply to ascertain as far as we can, what his views respecting the Deity positively were.—Having then, so far inquired into, and ascertained, his modes of thinking and stating his opinions, we may now proceed to examine them upon other grounds.

ψεν"... "*καὶ ἕτερα δέ γε πλεῖστα εἴρηται καὶ τούτῳ, καὶ* Πλουτάρχῳ, *καὶ* Νουμηνίῳ, *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς τούτων ἦσαν ξυμμορίας. Μετὰ γὰρ* [δὴ] *τὴν τοῦ* Σωτῆρος *ἡμῶν ἐπιφάνειαν οὗτοι γενόμενοι τῆς χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνέμιξαν λόγοις.*" I think it extremely likely, that the Text of the New Testament afforded these later Philosophers much new matter on this very abstruse subject, although that of the Old might have supplied quite as much as Plato and Philo were able to say upon it: nothing being more common in the East, even at this day, than the adoption of Christian opinions by the Idolaters.

Section II.

On the Opinions of Eusebius, as deducible from the History of the Council of Nice.

We now come to consider the Letter of our Author addressed to the Church of Cæsarea, respecting the proceedings of the Council of Nice, particularly as this has been made one of the chief grounds of accusation against him.

The first thing we shall notice is, the profession of faith which he then offered to the Council [1], and which is thus given: '*I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the* Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, *the only begotten Son, the First Born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all ages,* (or worlds,) *and by whom all things were made: Who, for our salvation, became incarnate and conversant among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. And I believe in one Holy Ghost.*' '*Each one of these,*' he adds, '*we believe to be and exist: the Father, truly the Father; and the Son, truly the Son; and the Holy Ghost, truly the Holy Ghost, even as our Lord, sending forth his apostles to preach, said: "Go (and) make Disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* [2]." ' Concerning which

[1] The Creed agreed upon at the Council, which is evidently based on this, as this was on others of a more ancient date, proceeds no farther than this place, with the addition of the Anathema. The whole formula will be found in Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. xi. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. viii. as also in the authorities mentioned by Bingham, Antiq. Book x. cap. iv. sect. 4. On the additional portions found in this Creed, as it now stands in our Prayer Books, see, ib. sect. 16. seq. See also Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. Book III. p. 224—5.

[2] The Greek of which stands thus: "πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων ὁρατῶν δὲ καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν, καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον ἰησοῦν χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης τῆς

things,' he goes on to say, 'we affirm that they thus are, and that we thus think, and that we thus formerly held, and that to this faith we will stand even to death, anathematizing every ungodly heresy. That *we have thought these things from the heart and soul*, as far as we have known ourselves; that we now think and say them in truth, we *attest before Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ;* having it in our power to shew, and by proofs even to satisfy you, that we thus believed and preached even in times past.'

It should seem, I think, that the profession here made, was made in all simplicity and good faith. I can conceive of no other motive, which could have induced the Father of Church history to act otherwise. And, if this may be relied on, it also must that he did not, on this occasion, make any profession, which he had not *always made*, and *always taught*, previous to this time[3].

κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα· τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον." From the expression, "ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον," as well as from what he here adds, viz. "τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν, πιστέυοντες, πατέρα ἀληθινῶς πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν ἀληθινῶς υἱόν, πνεῦμά τε ἅγιον ἀληθινῶς πνεῦμα ἅγιον." κ. τ. λ. it must be evident, according to his mode of thinking and speaking of the Deity, that nothing short of the *self-existing* and *independent* nature of God could have been intended.

[3] It is positively asserted nevertheless, by Athanasius, that his belief was Arian up to the time of the Council of Nice. His words are these: "πρότερον μὲν συντρέχων τῇ ἀρειανικῇ αἱρέσει· ὕστερον δὲ ὑπογράψας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐν νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ." "Qui cum prius suffragaretur Arianicæ sectæ, postea tamen Nicæni Concilii decretis subscripsit." Vales. Life of Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Tom. I. p. mihi 24. Jortin however tells us (Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. pp. 189, 270, Edit. 1767), that "Eusebius proposed a Creed, in which he *avoided* the word ὁμοούσιος, and anathematized *every impious heresy*, without specifying any." Would it not have been more accurate to have said, that Eusebius did not *insert* the term *Homoousian*, as it does not appear to have had a place in any creed up to this time? And ought not Jortin in fairness to have added, that,

Let us now examine this profession of Faith itself, with reference to the charge of Arianism so commonly brought against our author. Of his belief respecting the Father we need say nothing, because that has not been impeached. Of the Son then he says, He is God of God. Now, What could a writer, holding the notions of Plato, and the opinions which he himself has expressed on the character of Deity, have possibly meant by this God of God? and which is interpreted, a little lower down, by '*begotten of the Father before all* ages' or worlds, if it was not, that the Son was *of* the *Divine Essence of the Father*[1]? It should be observed too, we have here no delusive attempt to screen the notions of an Arian, under the substitution of one Greek verb for another, which might have the effect of deceiving the unwary[2]. Again, a little farther on, we have, '*The Father truly* (really) *the Father*,' and, in the same sense, '*The Son truly* (really) *the Son*.' And the same must be true of the phrases, 'Light of Light, Life of Life,' which are followed, as before, by, "*The only begotten Son*,

that, when this term was inserted, and had been discussed, Eusebius was one of those who gave it his warmest support? Jortin's other remark is not worth noticing. Le Clerc makes no scruple here in charging Eusebius directly with duplicity: "Eusebe," says he (Bibl. Univers. Ann. 1688. p. 480.)..." étoit un homme adroit, qui ne faisoit pas scrupule de souscrire à des termes *qui ne lui plaisoient pas*, pourvu qu'il les pût expliquer en un sens conforme à sa pensée." (See also p. 482), which has been re-echoed by Jortin. I will only ask here, What would Le Clerc and Jortin have thought of the writer who had treated them in this manner, after protestations such as those made by Eusebius?

[1] Even the Arians, if they could have allowed the *generation* of the Son, in Eusebius's sense, would not have hesitated to receive Him as being equally eternal and divine with the Father. See the Letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. vi.

[2] It was a very common practice with the Arians to substitute some part or other of the verb, γείνομαι, γίγνομαι, or γίνομαι, for that of γεννάω, γεννῶμαι; as γενητὸς, for γεννητὸς, &c. of which both Valesius (Annot. in Hist. Eccl. Theodoret. Lib. II. cap. viii.) and Montfaucon (Coll. Nov. Patr. Tom. II. p. lix.) has deemed it necessary particularly to apprize their readers. Yet, it ought to be observed, that this distinction does not universally hold, even in the orthodox writers, particularly in the term ἀγενητός.

begotten of the Father," and so on; for the purpose, apparently, of determining that the Son partakes of the *very essence* and *nature of the Father.*

To this Creed, our author informs us, no objection was offered by the Nicene Fathers. Some additions only were made, which,—as it appears to me,—added nothing of real moment to its meaning, as it respected either the mind of our Author, or the notions of the Arians. The whole differences, in the two forms, amount in the main to these: viz. for "*The*[3] *only begotten Son,*" we have "*the only begotten Son of the Father, that is, of the Essence of the Father.*" And again, "*God*[4] *of very God, begotten not made, Homoousion with the Father* (i. e. *of the same substance* &c.), *by Whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth.*" Which, although added with the greatest propriety to a formula intended for common use, and therefore well calculated to guard general readers from mistakes, into which they might otherwise fall, really added nothing of which a philosophical mind could stand in need: *the being begotten of God, God of God, Life of Life,* and the like, implying to the fullest extent, all that the additional terms conveyed, as far as the question with the Arians was concerned. In another point of view, these additions were more important; that is, for the purpose of guarding believers generally against the heresy of Sabellius, of the Docetæ, and others: and this the Fathers of the Council probably had in view, when they added them.

To this formula an anathema was added, evidently for the purpose of opposing Arianism. It runs thus: '*But those who say, there was a time when* (the Son) *was not, and that before He was begotten He had no being; and that He was made of things not existing, or out of any other subsistency or essence, alleging that the Son of God was subject to change or conversion, the Holy*

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[3] Gr. "γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός."

[4] "θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινὸν, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ."

Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.' It may be observed, that the Anathema appended to the formula of Eusebius is here, as before, made more specific and comprehensive by the Council: although in effect, it reaches no heresy which might not have been brought under that of our author; it being the privilege of the Church to determine, what heresy was. In this respect, the prior formula was more full, as it would comprehend future heresies. Still the latter was better adapted to general use at that time.

It appears indeed, that our author did not allow these additions to pass without severe inquiry, as to their intention and bearing: and this was perhaps not improper in a matter of such great moment; and especially when a new term was to be introduced into the Creed of the Universal Church. And, What was the result? His entire and conscientious concurrence, as noticed above. The terms, "*being of the substance*," were explained to indicate, the "*being of the Father, but not as a part of the Father*[1]:" to which, as he tells us, he cordially agreed, not thinking it desirable to keep up a warfare, and to lose sight of the truth for the sake of words only. For the same reason he adds, he received the terms *begotten not made;* and because it was said, The term *made* applied commonly to the *creatures*, which had been made by the Son, to which He was in no respect similar, but was of an *Essence* far superior to every thing made: while the Scriptures too declared, that *the Son was begotten of the Father*, in a way neither to be conceived

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[1] Gr. "καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ὡμολόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐκ μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ πατρός." "Et hos quidem voces, ex substantia, fassi sunt hoc significare; Filium quidem esse ex Patre, sed non tanquam partem ipsius Patris." He then adds, "ταύτῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν συγκατατίθεσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ὑπαγορευούσης ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, οὐ μὴν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτο ὑτυγχάνειν. διόπερ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ συντιθέμεθα." "Hunc sensum ut nos quoque amplecteremur, æquum omnino videbatur, cùm pia doctrina prædicet, Filium ex Patre esse, non tamen partem esse illius substantiæ. Quamobrem et nos huic notioni assensum præbemus."

nor described by any creature. 'In the same way,' he adds, 'the investigation shewed the *Son to be Homoousian* (of the same substance) *with the Father*, not after any bodily sort, nor allied in any way to that of mortals; neither by division of the substance, nor by abscission, passion, conversion, or change, of the power of the Father: that the *nature of the unbegotten Father was foreign to all these:* that *the being Homoousian with the Father*, shewed that the Son bears no similitude whatsoever to the begotten creatures; but that He was, in all respects, like the Father who begat: and, that He was of *no other subsistency*, (or Essence) *but of that of the Father*[2].' To which, our author adds, he agreed as being well propounded, since many ancient and famous Bishops and Writers had used the term *Homoousian* in the same sense. He then adds his consent to the Anathema subjoined, because the terms "*out of nothing*," "*there was a time when he was not*," and the like, were unscriptural, and had been the cause of much confusion in the Church: it being confessed by all, that the Son of God did exist before his generation in the flesh; and that, prior to his actual generation, He existed in power ungeneratedly (detur venia verbo) in the Father[3].

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[2] Hence will be seen how far from the *whole* truth Jortin's flippant account of this matter is, when he says, "His (Eusebius's) sense of *consubstantial* was, that *the Son of God was not like created beings, but received his existence and his perfections from the Father in a different and in an ineffable manner*," &c. Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. Book III. p. 189. Ed. 1767. The Greek here will shew, that our author occasionally used the term ὑπόστασις and οὐσία, in the same sense: "καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρός." And also that he did believe, that the Son was *of the Essence of the Father.*

[3] This is a very remarkable passage, and one which ought not to be passed over without notice. It stands thus: "ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐνεργείᾳ γενηθῆναι, δυνάμει ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγεννήτως, ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς καὶ βασιλέως ἀεὶ, καὶ σωτῆρος, καὶ δυνάμει πάντα ὄντος ἀεί τε καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος." "*Nam priusquam actu gigneretur, potentiâ erat in Patre, ingenita quadam ratione: cum Pater semper sit pater, Rex item atque Servator.*" Here, it should be observed, Eusebius speaks of the *abstract nature of the Deity*, as it respected *the monarchy*, (κατὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν) *as being ever immutably the*

One of the most important considerations, however, connected with this Letter is, that it appears to have been written to Arians[1]. It has already been remarked, that

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the same: and, although he uses the terms *Father* and *Son*,—which he usually applies with reference to *the Divine Economy* (ἡ οἰκονομία) —it is for the purpose of affirming here, that each is equally eternal, and coëssential. To this, Valesius has a strong objection, which he declares in these words in his notes, (p. mihi 12.) "In his Constantini sive Eusebii verbis error est manifestus. Neque enim verbum fuit in Patre potentiâ, priusquam actu gigneretur ex Patre. Primum enim actus et potentia non distinguuntur in Deo. Deinde ex eo sequeretur Verbum non fuisse ab æterno. Nam et reliquæ creaturæ antequam actu crearentur, potentiâ erant in Deo," &c. I must confess I do not very clearly see the force of this objection. If the Schoolmen have said, that *act* and *power* are not to be considered as distinct things in the Deity, I do not perceive, either in what this is self-evident, or why the distinction is not to be made. Nor again, can I discover, in what way the creatures —here supposed to be created *out of nothing*,—could also be said to exist in the Deity *in power* before they were created, and hence be held to have been from eternity. This seems to me, to be judging of the opinions and reasoning of Eusebius, by principles not recognized until some centuries after his death. It appears to me, that Eusebius might have believed the Deity to have existed in His abstract character from all eternity immutably the same, and yet the Divine Essence to have comprehended the subsistences of *Father, Son,* and *Holy Ghost,* all, each, and every, of these, vested with the power which is inseparable from Deity. But, however this might be, the passage most unequivocally affirms *the eternity of the Son.*

[1] So Theodoret, from whose Eccles. Hist. (Lib. i. cap. xi.) these extracts are taken, ib. whose words are: "Εὐσεβίου τοῦ καισαρέως ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἔγραψεν, ἐνθεῖναι βούλομαι τῇ συγγραφῇ, τῆς τούτων λύττης ἔλεγχον ἔχουσαν ἐναργῆ. τοῦτον γὰρ γεραίροντες ὡς ὁμόφρονα, τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου γραφεῖσιν ἀντικρυς ἀντιλέγουσιν· γέγραφε δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρός τινας τὰ Αρείου φρονοῦντας, προδοσίαν ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ, δηλοῖ δὲ ἄμεινον τὰ γεγραμμένα τὸν τοῦ γεγραφότος σκοπόν." "Eusebii Cæsariensis epistolam, quam de fide scripsit, libet hoc loco inserere, ut quæ illorum" (i. e. Arianorum) "rabiem manifestè convincat. Hunc enim ut consentientem honorantes, *ejus scriptis apertè contradicunt.* Epistolam autem scripsit *ad Arianos quosdam,* qui illum, ut apparet, proditionis accusabant. Sed auctoris mentem meliùs verba ipsa declarant." Then follows this Epistle: which, be it remembered, Theodoret cites for the purpose of shewing that our author was not friendly to the views of the Arians. Socrates gives a similar account of this Epistle (Lib. i. cap. viii. p. mihi 23. D.) "καὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαῷ ἔγγραφον τὸν ὅρον τῆς

Eusebius's hesitating to subscribe to the *Homoousian* doctrine, has been made matter of accusation against him[2]. Now let it be supposed that this Letter was written to Arians within his own diocese; What, I ask, could be more proper or becoming in him, than to assure them that he did not assent to this doctrine until he had obtained a full

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πίστεως δ:επέμιψατο (Εὐσέβιος ὁ τοῦ παμφίλου), τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξιν ἑρμηνεύσας, ἵνα μὴ δὲ ὅλως τὶς ὑπόνοιαν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπέστησεν ἔχῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ."..."et Cæsariensibus suis conscriptam fidei formulam misit, vocem consubstantialis interpretatus, ne quis sinistram quidpiam de ipso suspicaretur, eo quod aliquantulum substitisset."

[2] It is curious to observe how Athanasius meets this: "It is wonderful," says he, "that Eusebius of Cæsarea of Palestine, although refusing the day before, yet the day after subscribed; and sent an Epistle to his Church, asserting that this was the Faith of the Church, and the tradition of the Fathers; and to all he openly shewed, that they were formerly in error, and had vainly contended against the truth." He goes on to say, that "although these were words which he was *then ashamed to use, he nevertheless was willing to defend himself to the Church in this way,* not denying the Homoousian doctrine, *which must have been grievous to him:* and that to carry this on, he ever after accused the Arians." His words are: "καὶ τόγε παράδοξον, Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἀπὸ καισαρείας τῆς παλαιστίνης, καί τοι πρὸ μιᾶς ἀρνούμενος, ὅμως ὕστερον ὑπογράψας, ἐπέστειλε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ, λέγων εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν πίστιν, καὶ τῶν πατέρων τὴν παράδοσιν· πᾶσί τε φανερῶς ἔδειξεν, ὅτι πρότερον ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ μάτην ἐφιλονείκουν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἠσχύνθη τότε ταύταις ταῖς λέξεσι γράψαι, καὶ ὡς ἠθέλησεν αὐτὸς ἀπελογήσατο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλάγε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ὁμοούσιον,...μὴ ἀρνησάμενος φανερῶς τοῦτο σημᾶναι βούλεται, καὶ πέπονθέ τι δεινόν. ὡς γὰρ ἀπολογούμενος κατεγόρησε λοιπὸν τῶν ἀρειανῶν." Vales. Life of Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Tom. I. It is greatly to be regretted that Athanasius did not here, as well as elsewhere, bring *positive matter* of accusation against our Author if he had any. The fact is, all he has advanced amounts to nothing beyond inferences, drawn from documents now in our hands. In one case, indeed, he cites a document not extant, and in this he accuses him of saying that *Christ is not the true God.* It is probable however, that all our Author there did was, to style the Father *the only true God,* as in John xvii. 3: Christ there speaking of Himself as *a Minister* in the Divine *Economy;* a thing which Eusebius has done again and again. Athanasius, no doubt, gave the real impressions which he felt; but it is to be feared that,—as it often happens among ourselves,—a fervent zeal to maintain the truth, was suffered to overcome his better judgment, and, with this, his christian feelings as a controversialist.

and clear explanation as to its bearing? that he had not been lightly carried away with the many, but had persevered to the last in refusing subscription, until the matter had been made out entirely to his satisfaction? that he then subscribed, declaring that the term proposed (*Homoousian*) was neither *new*, nor,—as then explained,—in *any way differing from the teaching of the Divine Oracles;* and then attesting in the presence of the Almighty, that he had in sincerity, and in the fullest conviction of his conscience, given his assent to this Creed? Nor is this all, but he as fully assented to the Anathema also, which fell directly on the notions of the Arians; and called to their remembrance, that these were the doctrines which he had *from the first taught and preached*, and would *to the last maintain among them*. Let it also be borne in mind that Arius, as noticed above, had looked upon our Author as one of his adherents; and I think it must appear, that this Letter was both intended to undeceive them in this respect, and at the same time to lay before them his real, long entertained, and deliberately formed, convictions as to the proper Divinity of the Son of God, and as to the unscriptural and heretical notions of the Arian party. This, I think, is the course that any Churchman at the present day would pursue, when arguing with a Dissenter. He would endeavour to convince him,—if he dealt fairly with him,—that he had taken all due care to consider his opinions; that he did not rashly or hastily oppose his views: but that, after every necessary investigation made, he felt bound both to express, and to maintain, the opinions to which he had from the first been attached.

To this it may be added, that Theodoret, a writer of no mean attainments and judgment, devotes a whole chapter in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. i. cap. xii.)[1] to the task of convincing the Arians, *from the writings of our Eusebius*, that they laboured under a great mistake in

[1] Yet, he is made (ib. Lib. v. cap. vii.) to enumerate "*even Eusebius*" of Cæsarea among the abettors of Arianism! Is it not probable that this ("καὶ Εὐσέβιος") was added by some zealous scribe? for it is well known, that the margins of the MSS. are occasionally loaded with reproaches on his name vented by this race of men.

supposing, that he was attached to their opinions. This he does first, by shewing from his Epistle to the Church of Cæsarea, that the term *Homoousian* was not of recent coinage: secondly, by appealing to the consent which he, with the Nicene Fathers, gave to the Creed then established: which Theodoret also affirms, he had also shewn in his Life of Constantine. And he concludes, that, although the Arians considered it no impiety to contradict other Fathers; to Eusebius, whom they usually treated with respect, it was but reasonable they should give credence when he affirmed, that the agreement of the Council was complete.

It will be quite sufficient to our purpose now, to add the testimony of Socrates[2] to the same effect; and particularly, as he has had sagacity enough to discover, on what grounds it was, that our Author had been charged with Arianism, and also to suggest, from the nature of the case,

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[2] As this passage is important to our question, I give it in the Greek of Socrates, with the Latin translation of Valesius... "πῶς ἀρειανίζειν αὐτόν τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· πλανῶνται δὲ καὶ ἀρειανοὶ, φρονεῖν αὐτὸν νομίζοντες τὰ αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ ἀρειανίζειν δοκεῖ, τῷ συνεχῶς λέγειν διὰ Χριστοῦ· πρὸς ὃν ἀποκρινούμεθα, ὅτι τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ πολλάκις καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς μηνυούσαις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· καὶ πρό γε ἁπάντων τούτων, ὁ ἀπόστολος ταῖς λέξεσι ταύταις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ οὐ δὲ πώποτε ὡς κακοδοξίας διδάσκαλος ἐνομίσθη." ...Quid causæ est cur nonnulli cum existiment Ariano dogmati consentire? Falluntur etiam Ariani, qui illum opinioni suæ suffragari arbitrantur. Sed dicet fortasse aliquis, illum Ariani dogmatis assertorem videri, propterea quod in libris suis crebro dicere solet, per Christum. Cui nos respondemus; et hac loquendi ratione, et aliis hujusmodi quæ dispensationem humanitatis Jesu Christi designant, Ecclesiasticos Scriptores et consuevisse: et ante hos omnes Paulum Apostolum iisdem vocibus usum fuisse, qui tamen perversi dogmatis magister nunquam est existimatus." See on this use of the term *Economy* (οἰκονομία) pp. xxix. xxx. note, above; and on a very extended application of it the "Capitula de Incarnatione Domini" of Cyril of Alexandria, Script. Vet. Nov. Collect. Tom. VIII. Rom. 1833, by Signor Mai, p. 59, seq. It. Athanasius, Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. II. Paris, 1706. Ed. Montfauc. p. 6, seq. It should be borne in mind however, that our Author often speaks of the *Economy* (ἡ οἰκονομία), under which our Lord acted as a Minister, even before *His incarnation*, as already remarked.

how the expressions of Eusebius ought to be viewed. Socrates then, in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. II. cap. xxi. p. mihi 103) argues to this effect: 'Since some have endeavoured to criminate Eusebius as Arianizing in his writings, I think it not unseasonable to say a few things about him. First, he was present at the Council of Nice, which defined the *Homoousian* doctrine; and with it he agreed.' His Life of Constantine is then, as before, cited, containing his own testimony to this fact. Socrates then asks, 'How is it, that some suppose him to have Arianized; for the Arians err who imagine that he thinks with them? One may say,' he adds, 'that in his writings he *seems to Arianize*, from his frequently saying *through Christ*. To such we answer,' continues he, 'Churchmen often use this expression, as they also do those other (similar ones), which have respect to the *Economy* of the manhood of our Saviour; and indeed, before all these, the Apostle used the (same) expressions, and he has never, on this account, been considered a Teacher of corrupt doctrine[1].' Socrates has, I think, here assigned the true cause of the alleged Arianism of our Author.—It should be remarked, that in this respect Eusebius has, perhaps *more frequently* than any other of the Fathers, spoken of our Lord under *this point of view*, without, at the same time, apprizing his Reader of it: which might however well be excused in a mind so philosophical as his really was: while in others less so, it would easily be mistaken for heterodoxy. Socrates proceeds; 'Hear[1] what Eusebius says, when Arius affirms

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[1] This is taken by Socrates (Hist. Eccl. ib.) from our Author's controversy with Marcellus, which we shall notice more particularly in our next section. As the place is important, I give the original: "Ετι μὴν καὶ ἀρείου κτίσμα τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ἓν τῶν ἄλλων τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἐπάκουσον οἷα Εὐσέβιος περὶ τούτου... φησίν· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνος αὐτὸς, καὶ οὐ δὲ ἄλλος ἀνηγορεύεταί τε καὶ ἔστιν· ὅθεν εἰκότως ἄν τις μέμψαιτο τοῖς κτίσμα αὐτὸν φᾶναι τετολμηκόσιν, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ὅμοιον τοῖς λοιποῖς κτίσμασι γενόμενον· καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἔτι ἔσται υἱός; πῶς δὲ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς λοιποῖς κτίσμασιν ἐπιγραφόμενος φύσιν; τῶν τε πολλῶν γενητῶν ἔσται εἷς, ἅτε τῆς ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων κτίσεως ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς μετασχὼν κοινωνίας; ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὧδε περὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ θεῖα παιδεύει λόγια... ὁ γὰρ ἐξ οὐκ

that the *Son of God* is but a mere creature: *He alone and no other is, and is named, the only-begotten Son of God;* whence one may justly reprehend those who dare to affirm that *He is a creature*, made out of nothing like other creatures. For, How can He then be *the Son?* How the *only-begotten of God*, who is characterized as of the same nature with the creatures, as one of the many that have been made, and as partaking of a common creation with them, out of nothing? But, the Divine Oracles do not thus teach of Him.' And, a little lower down, 'That which is made *out of nothing*, cannot *be truly the Son of God;* nor indeed can any other made thing. But He, who is *truly the Son of God*, He who is *begotten of God* as of a Father, is justly named *the Only-begotten* and *Beloved of the Father.* And thus indeed, must He also *be God.* For what,' adds he, 'is that which is *begotten of God*, but that which is assimilated to Him (as) the *Generator?*' It should be remembered, that our Author reasons here as *a Platonist*, holding, that whatever *had independent existence* as opposed to creation, could be nothing less than Deity; as must every thing, which is said to be *generated of Deity*, necessarily partake of *the Divine Essence.*

As far therefore, as the Council of Nice is concerned, there appears to be no good reason, either for suspecting the

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ὄντων γεγονὼς, οὐκ ἀληθῶς γένοιτ' ἂν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἄλλό τι τῶν γεννητῶν (γενητῶν?)· ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἅτε ἐκ πατρὸς ἀποτεχθεὶς, εἰκότως ἂν καὶ μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητὸς χρηματίσειε τοῦ πατρός· οὕτω δὲ, καὶ Θεὸς ἂν εἴη· τὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ Θεοῦ γέννημα, ἢ τὸ τῷ γεγεννηκότι ἀφωμοιωμένον." κ. τ. λ. I do not think much importance can be attached after this, and similar statements made by our Author, to the charge brought against him in the sixth act of the seventh Œcumenical Council, (cited by Valesius, Life of Euseb.) viz. that *Christ was a perfect creature* of God, and unlike any other creature: "*creaturam Dei perfectam, sed non sicut unam ex creaturis.*" Which has evidently been taken from the Letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre: where it is said of the Son:—"πρὸς τελείαν ὁμοιότητα διαθέσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως τοῦ πεποιηκότος γενόμενον." κ. τ. λ...."ad perfectam tamen similitudinem naturæ virtutisque factoris sui conditum," &c. Our Author's assertions are, that the Son is of the *Essence of the Father*, &c. as cited above from his Letter.

sincerity of our Author; or for supposing that, either then, or at any previous time, he really favoured the views of the Arians. Whether his reasoning was good or bad, or whether he talked at one time too much like a Platonist, at another, too much like a Theologian, for general readers, or not, is not now the question. I will say here, that, taking his reasoning as it ought to be taken, as resulting from his own modes of thinking and of expression, I may perhaps conclude, that, so far, there appears to be no good grounds either for suspecting his sincerity, or his orthodoxy. It should be observed too, that, of all the testimonies against him, collected from the Fathers of the Church and others by Valesius, not so much as one is grounded on any thing better than *inference*, and this drawn, as I think, from narrow and partial views of his conduct and writings. In one instance indeed, he is accused with having sacrificed to idols during the persecutions: but here also, it will be found upon inquiry, this rests on grounds no better than those of conjecture[1].

Section III.

On the Opinions of Eusebius as discoverable in his Controversy with Marcellus.

Having considered some of the leading modes of thinking and of expressing himself adopted by our Author, and examined these in some of their details as connected with the Council of Nice; it is now my intention to extend this inquiry to a few particulars taken from his controversy with Marcellus[2], both because controversy has usually the

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[1] As cited by Valesius, ib.

[2] A very good account of him, and of this controversy, will be found in Cave's Hist. Liter. Tom. I. p. 152. Edit. 1688. He was Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia; and, according to Socrates, (Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. xxxvi.) he fell, in combating the opinions of the Arians, into the opposite extreme, Sabellianism. And this, I think, is obvious enough from the extracts given by Eusebius from his writings. The Council of Jerusalem, having considered this question, ordered him to amend his opinions, and to burn his books. This he promised but neglected to do, and was accordingly deposed by that of Constantinople. He then betook himself to Rome, and laid his case before Pope Julius, declaring

effect of laying open the minds of those engaged in it, to a greater degree than any thing else, on the questions at issue; and also of affording a good opportunity to judge, in what way the several disputants interpreted the documents on which they undertook to argue.

This controversy will, in both these respects, afford us considerable assistance towards ascertaining the truth in the question before us; and particularly in the latter case, as it will bring before us certain passages of Scripture, which could not have failed to call forth the Arian notions of our Author, if indeed he entertained such. An extract from this controversy has been noticed above, as adduced by Socrates in defence of our Author. The first we shall here touch upon, has also been adduced by him for the same purpose; and, as the Scripture which it cites, *seems* to speak of our Lord as *a created being*, it will afford us a good opportunity of seeing how Eusebius dealt with it.

The passage here adduced is Prov. viii. 22, which, according to the Septuagint, reads, "*The Lord created me the beginning of his ways.*" On which our Author says, 'If one find it once said in the Scripture, *The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works*, it is necessary to observe the mind of the passage, which,' says he, 'I will shortly do; not, like Marcellus, for the purpose of beating down a principal doctrine of the Church, from one mere expression[3].' Socrates then tells us, that Eusebius teaches us in his Third Book[4] (against Marcellus,) how the term *created* ought to be taken here: which he does to this effect.—'The terms, *The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works* are to be considered as consequent on what precedes; and, if he says that *Him-*

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that his writings had been misunderstood and misapplied by his accusers. Upon this the Pope received him into communion, as also did the Council of Sardica, and restored him to his Bishoprick. It is probably to be ascribed to this circumstance, that Roman Catholic writers are often found among his zealous supporters, and that Montfaucon undertook an elaborate, but,—to my mind,—a most unsatisfactory, defence of him; which will be found prefixed to his edition of our Author's Commentary on the Psalms, p. li. lii. seq.

[3] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxi.

[4] Lib. III. cap. ii. p. 150 D.

self was created, He could not say these things, as implying that He came forth *from nothing into existence;* nor, that He was, *like the other creatures, made out of nothing:* which some have erroneously understood: but, as subsisting (ὑφεστὼς) indeed, and *Living* (ζῶν), and *Preëxisting* (προὼν), and *previously having a Being* (προϋπάρχων), before the constitution of the whole world; appointed by His own Father and Lord to rule over all things: hence the term *He created* (ἔκτισεν) was said for, *He appointed* (κατέταξεν), or, *He established* (ἢ κατέστησεν).' We then have several passages[1] pointed out, in which *creature*, or *created*, signifies something *appointed*, *constituted*, or the like; but not *created out of nothing;* and the conclusion is, that this text has respect to the *constituting* of Christ by the Father, the Ruler of all things. We have nothing here therefore, implying in any way, either that our Lord was a *creature*, or that He was, as to *His Divine Essence*, in any respect inferior to the Father; but only as it respected the office of a Minister in *the Divine Economy*, which He took upon himself to hold and to fulfil.

But, that we may enter the more fully into our Author's mind, we must see how he viewed the opinions of his opponent, whose object was—let it be borne in mind,—to prove that he was an Arian. These Eusebius has affirmed were Sabellian. He then gives the following from Marcellus;

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[1] 1 Pet. ii. 13. Amos iv. 13. Ps. L. 11 (Septuagint.) Eph. ii. 15; iv. 24. Theodoret Dialog. 1. advers. Anomœos. Tom. v. p. 231: takes this passage in the Proverbs, as referring to the Incarnation of our Lord; the past tense in, *He created* (ἔκτισε) being used to imply the thing enounced as present to the Divine mind, as in, "*They pierced my hands and my feet, &c.*" which, he goes on to say, points out "*the mystery hidden from the foundation of the world.*" Eph. iii. 5. John viii. 57, 58, &c. But here I think Eusebius is right, and Theodoret wrong, for this reason; the passage in Proverbs is evidently an imitation of a place in Job, viz. chap. XL. 19: where the *First of the ways of God*, cannot refer to the animal there mentioned, but to the Wisdom of God, had in view: and this *Wisdom* Solomon evidently had before *him*, which the Fathers generally refer to *Christ*. See my translation of the place with the notes. An interpretation of this passage in the Proverbs, not unlike that of Eusebius, was given by Eustathius of Antioch; and it has been preserved by Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. vii.

'[2] *That there is not, nor did there* (ever) *preëxist, nor has there at any time existed, a Son of God before his being brought forth by the Virgin: but that he was only a word coëxisting with the Father, being eternally with Him, and united, just as an unspoken word might be with man.* For

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[2] Lib. II. cap. i. contra Marcellum, p. 32. A. it. p. 35. B. This is stated in substance by Montfaucon (Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. II. cap. ii. p. Liii. seq.) to which are added similar statements from Basil, Chrysostom, and Theodoret; to which Epiphanius, and Athanasius have, to a certain extent, expressed their agreement. In cap. iii. ib. Montfaucon takes up the defence of Marcellus. His first assertion is, that Marcellus had done only as many Catholics had, who maintained that the οὐσία, *Essence*, or ὑπόστασις, *Hypostasis* of the Father and the Word were one and the same: while Eusebius held, that these were *separate*, and *unequal*: which is not true! A little lower down he tells us that Marcellus, acting against the Sabellians, could not but have held that the *Word* was distinct from the Father. But this is also incorrect. Marcellus was not here writing against the Sabellians, but against the Arians, as he also shews (ib. capp. i. iii.). He next cites Marcellus saying, that the *Word of God*, was not *a word* so called *abusively*, or *figuratively*, (οὐ λόγον καταχρηστικῶς ὀνομασθέντα), *but was truly a word* (ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὄντα λόγον): which he tells us means, that the Word *was truly self-existing*, "*verbum exstitisse verè et per se.*" I more than doubt this. All Marcellus says seems to me to be, that *the Word*, in his mind, implied nothing whatever in a sense not (οὐ καταχρηστικῶς) strictly its own, but *really and verily a word*, such as he had before described, resting unenounced in the mind of the Father. And this Montfaucon next adduces, declaring that it involves nothing uncatholic, but what agreed with John i. 1. And, what should exceed all wonder, he then tells us, that Athanasius and others read here, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ: but, that certain Fathers, to avoid the usages of *the followers of Marcellus* (Marcelliani), and of others, rejected the terms ἐν τῷ θεῷ. One would hardly have expected this in a defence of the same Marcellus! Montfaucon thinks in the next place, that he finds a real distinction between the Father and the Son, in Marcellus's citing, "*Let us make man*," &c. But, Does this necessarily follow, in a writer reasoning as Marcellus does? It is doubtful at best. His next argument (iii.) amounts to nothing whatever. In page Lx. it is insinuated that Eusebius, with the Arians generally, considered Christ as *a created being*: which is not true! And in the last place, he allows that Marcellus was scarcely excusable, believing that he had *so* written his book, that he could *easily make that look well, which was in itself really ill.*—And, upon the whole, I do not think that Marcellus, were he to appear again, would thank Montfaucon for this defence.

he (Marcellus) uses this example; that *a word was within God himself, sometimes at rest, sometimes operating significantly, but proceeding forth by the sole act of the Father.*' After stating some of his objections to this, he proceeds, in his second chapter (ib.) to refute these opinions upon statements taken from the work (now lost) of Marcellus himself. —It is of no concern to us now, whether Eusebius was right or wrong in his statements of the notions of Marcellus: all we wish to ascertain is, How he defended himself against the charges of Arianism brought against him by this writer.

In the fourth chapter then, of his first Book, Marcellus attacks several writers on their opinions respecting the Son, and among these Eusebius. I shall notice only one instance of his reasoning against Asterius[1], and then proceed to those advanced against Eusebius himself. And this I notice merely to shew, how our Author meets it. It was the object of Marcellus to prove here (p. 24. D.) that the assertions of Asterius, affirming that Christ was God, and at the same time, the image of God, could not hold. His words are, 'How can He, who was born both God and Lord, as he (Asterius) has presumed, possibly be *the Image of* God? For, the Image of God is one thing, and God another; so that if the Image be not Lord, neither is it God, but the Image of God and Lord; but, if it be truly God and Lord, it cannot be the Image of Lord and of God[2].' This, our Author, affirms is most blindly said: Marcellus not being aware, that a Son endued with a soul might be said to be the Image of His own Father; since He would be in all respects like Him. He then cites Gen. v. 3, to shew[3], that this was justified by the usage of Scripture. He then quotes the Apostle (Philip. ii. 6, 7), thus speaking *on the Divinity of the Son*, (περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ υἱοῦ.) "*Who being in the* FORM OF GOD, *thought it not robbery to*

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[1] Who was, according to Socrates, a Sophist of Cappadocia who wrote in favour of the Arian party.

[2] The words of Marcellus are: "πῶς γὰρ ὁ κυρίως (κύριος?) γεννηθεὶς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς προλαβὼν ἔφη, δύναται εἰκὼν Θεοῦ εἶναι; ἕτερον γὰρ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ Θεὸς. ὥστε εἰ μὲν εἰκὼν, οὐ Κύριος οὐδὲ Θεὸς, εἰ δὲ Κύριος ὄντως καὶ Θεὸς, οὐκ εἰκὼν Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ εἶναι δύναται."

[3] Also Col. iii. 10. Wisd. vii. 26.

be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation[4]:" and again, (Heb. i. 3) "*Who being the brightness of His glory, and the* EXPRESS IMAGE *of His person*," &c. evidently intending to urge the *Divine Nature* of our Lord on the one hand, and *his voluntary humiliation* in taking the office of a ministering servant on the other, in the work of *the Divine Economy*. Marcellus next charges Narcissus and Eusebius (ib. p. 25. C.) with holding, *that there were Two, and even Three* (different) *Essences*[5] (in the Deity),... daring to separate THE WORD OF GOD, and *naming it another God, in substance and power different from the Father*. He then classes our author with Valentinus, Hermes, Narcissus, Plato, and Marcion (ib. p. 26. A). To this, and some subsequent matter, Eusebius thought it sufficient to answer, that his words were those of the Apostle, out of which his opponent had fabricated *two substances* and *two Gods*[6]: and who had, a little lower down, also charged him from the words of the same Apostle, with affirming that Christ was *a mere man*. I may remark here, If our Author did affirm, either directly or indirectly, that there were *two*, or *three*, distinct Essences *in the Deity*, he could not have been an abettor of Arius. It is sufficiently evident however, that he only spoke of the *Hypostases* or *Subsistences*, believed to exist in the Holy Trinity, as we shall presently

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[4] Lit. Emptied Himself, "ἐκένωσε ἑαυτόν." A passage admirably calculated to express the mind of Eusebius, both as to *the Divinity*, and *the Humiliation* of the Son.

[5] "τρεῖς εἶναι πιστεύειν οὐσίας ἀποκρινόμενον."...i.e. in answer to the question whether he believed *two substances* to exist in the Deity, "*he answers three.*"—And it should be remembered here, as noticed above, (p. xxxii.) that οὐσία, *substance*, is to be taken in the sense of ὑπόστασις, *subsistence* or *person*.

[6] Ib. p. 27. A. "τήρει δὲ ταῦτα ὅπως διαλοιδορεῖται πικρῶς, τῷ μηδὲν εἰρηκότι πλεῖον, ὡς αὐτὸς γράφει, ἢ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητόν. καὶ νῦν μὲν δύο Θεοὺς λέγειν τὸν Εὐσέβιον ὁμολογεῖ, ὡς ἂν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν λέγοντα σὺν τῷ πατέρι." "Nota mihi autem quanto cum felle et acerbitate convitietur ei, qui nihil prorsus in scripta retulit, præter nuda ipsissimáque Apostoli verba, idque etiam ipso fatente accusatore. Et adhuc qui fatetur hoc in loco Eusebium duos Deos, profiteri, ut puta qui cum Patre suo, unà et Filium quoque Deum agnoscat esse."

see. But, what is most important here is, Marcellus bears testimony to the fact, that our Author held the Godhead of the Son, and the existence of the Holy Trinity. His method of stating this, resulted solely from his own Sabellian views of the subject [1].

Paulinus is next charged (ib. p. 27. C.) with 'making Christ *a God Second in order*, and begotten after the human manner;' also with 'making *Him a creature*, and with setting up *many gods*:' and in this category is our Eusebius included, with the addition, that he had affirmed, not only that there was *one only God*, but that the *true God was one only*. We have nothing to do here with the opinions of Paulinus: the extract is given, because the same things are charged upon our Author. And, What do they amount to? Why, that Christ was considered by him *as God*, holding a *secondary place*: that is, as we have already seen, '*thinking it not robbery to be* EQUAL WITH GOD, *nevertheless taking upon himself the form of* A SERVANT.' Then again, that he had set up *many gods*: which is only Marcellus's way of designating the Persons of *the Holy Trinity*: and the same may be said of his gloss on the term *begotten*. But, on his affirming that Eusebius made God (the Father) *the only true* God, Eusebius himself declares, that if he had adduced his words, he would have known that he had affirmed no such thing; but, that it was the Saviour who had said, "*that they might know thee the only true God* [2]."

Now, as our Author's interpretation of this last passage is all-important to this question, we cannot do better perhaps than adduce it. It is given considerably in detail in his "Eclogæ Prophetarum," lately published at Oxford by Dr. Gaisford, (pp. 43—6) where we are told that *Jehovah* sustained under the Old Testament, the same office of *Person sent*, as our Lord does under the New. The terms "*only true God*," could not therefore,

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[1] See also ib. p. 29.

[2] His words are: "καὶ παραθέμενος τὴν Εὐσεβίου λέξιν, συνίησιν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἡ τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν διδάσκουσα φωνή· τοῦ δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰρηκότος, ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν." (John xvii. 3.)

have been intended to deny the Deity of the Son, or in any way to exclude Him from a participation in the supreme Godhead, unless this could also be said of *Jehovah himself*. In our Author's Commentary on the Psalms[3] however, this passage is treated in a more summary and positive manner, to this effect. 'The term *alone* is used even by our Lord of the Father, in' "*that they might know thee the only true God*." 'For, since the Son is *a partaker in the Godhead of the Father*, participating in the same Rule, inasmuch as He is *the only-begotten Son and Word of God*, and *the Wisdom of God*, it is but right that He should be recounted in the Theology (doctrine respecting God) now before us; which teaches, that there is not one among the many that are named Gods, like the God who is over all: but, in *His one only-begotten Word, is the likeness of the Father preserved*.'—It must be obvious I think from this, that, when our Author spoke of *the God who is above all*, *the God of all*, and *the only true God*, there could have been no intention on his part, either to *deny the Divinity of the Son*, or *to exclude Him in any way from partaking in that of the Father*. (Ib. p. 28. C.)

The next charge of Marcellus is, that Eusebius had made Christ *a mere man*: but here happily, he has adduced the words of our Author; which expressly state,

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[3] On Psalm lxxxv. according to the Septuagint (p. 534. B.) vr. 10. "*Thou art God alone.*" "σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος." Our Author says: "τὸ δὲ μόνος, εἴρηται καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ, ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος κοινωνὸς ὑπάρχει ὁ υἱὸς, τῆς αὐτῆς μέτοχος ὢν βασιλείας, ἅτε μονογενὴς υἱὸς ὢν καὶ θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ θεοῦ σοφία, εἰκότως ἂν καταλέγοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ παρούσῃ θεολογίᾳ διδασκούσῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅμοιος τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις θεοῖς· ἐν ἑνὶ γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοιότης σώζεται." κ. τ. λ. "Illud autem, *solus*, a Salvatore quoque nostro ad Patrem dictum fuit in illo, *Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum*. Quoniam vero paternæ deitatis particeps est Filius, cum sit ejusdem regni consors, utpote unigenitus filius, Dei Verbum, et Dei Sapientia; jure et ipse præsenti theologiæ accenseatur qua hæc docemur, inter multos illos qui dii vocantur non esse quempiam similem Deo universorum: nam in uno solo Unigenito ejus Verbo, Patris similitudo servatur," &c.

that "*there is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*[1];" and this, Marcellus himself here allows, he had spoken solely with reference to *the Divine Economy*. If then Eusebius had used the words of Scripture, he had very prudently guarded himself against the imputation, that he intended by them to lower the Divine nature of the Son; which the introduction of the term *Economy* effectually did. I must be allowed to remark here, that it will be difficult to discover what could have induced Marcellus to persevere in a charge like this, when he must have seen that the passage cited was Holy Scripture, and that Eusebius had given a sufficient clue to his view of its meaning; unless indeed the Sabellianism[2],

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[1] 1 Tim. ii. 5. "εἷς μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Ἰησους Χριστός." Marcellus adds, "εἰ τοίνυν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν, τῇ κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ μόνῃ προσέχων οἰκονομίᾳ, πάντως κἀκεῖνος συνομολογεῖ, τὸ μηδὲ ἔχειν ἐλπίδα ἐπ' αὐτόν." κ. τ. λ. "*Mediatorem quoque unum Dei atque hominum constituit hominem Jesum Christum.*" He adds, "*Quod si ergo hominem ideo illum appellet, quod respiceret eam*" (*solam*) "*quæ est secundum carnem, œconomiam, non potest fieri quin simul profiteatur ille, spem se nullam in eo collocari,*" &c. Jer. xvii. 5 is then cited. It is scarcely possible, Marcellus could not have understood what Eusebius meant here, by *the Economy according to the flesh*. He probably thought, as I suspect many others have done, that it would suit his purpose better to disregard this wholly. It should be observed, that the Fathers often use the term *Monarchy*, (ἡ μοναρχία. p. xxxi. above) when speaking of the universal rule of God *in the abstract*, in contradistinction to that of *Economy*; which, as applying to the work of redemption, views the *Holy Trinity* as comprehending the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, with reference to the declarations of Scripture. So Niceph. quoted by Suicer. Thes. Eccl. sub voce. "Εἷς Θεὸς παρ' ἡμῖν προσκυνεῖται· τριαδικῶς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, μοναδικῶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ μοναρχία παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ τιμώμενον, οὐ πολυαρχία." "*Unus Deus apud nos adoratur: tres quidem personæ secundum hypostasis, unus vero Deus secundum essentiam: et unus apud nos honoratur Deus, non plures dii.*" See also the other examples supplied by Suicer, which will abundantly shew, that *the Monarchy* (ἡ μοναρχία) and *Economy* (ἡ οἰκονομία), thus used, are opposed to one another.

[2] Cyril of Alexandria directly charges Marcellus with being a Sabellian—just as our Author does—(Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. Tom. VIII. p. 58), where he says: "καὶ ἡ τριὰς οὐκ ἐν ψιλοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑποστάσεσι γνωρίζεται· οὐ γὰρ ἓν λέγομεν τριώνυμον, κατὰ τὴν

with which our Author, with others, has charged Him, was the cause of it.

Having so far examined our Author's views in this place, let us now pass on to his Third Book on the Ecclesiastical Theology, also written against Marcellus. We have here then, (cap. iv. p. 168) Marcellus arguing on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, more particularly as held by our Author[3]; on which Eusebius concludes, that these *three Hypostases* or *Persons*, must in the mind of Marcellus have constituted one and the same being, and have been *only names;* he not seeing, that the Son was said to proceed forth of the Father, as was also the Holy Ghost[4]; nor, being able to understand, how it was said of the Holy Ghost, "*He shall take of mine and shew it to you*" (John xvi. 14); nor, how our Lord breathed on His Disciples, saying, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost:*" but, which were all easily solved by those whose views were according to piety, when they considered, *that the Son was ever with, and present to, the Father, inwardly as it were,* and as existing in the inaccessible and untrodden parts of the Father's Rule: then affirming Himself to have *come out of the Father*, as sent by Him for the salvation of the human race...'From whence then came He forth,' asks he, 'but from the most inward Royal apartments of the Father's

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τοῦ Σαβελλίου καὶ φωτεινοῦ καὶ Μαρκέλλου συναίρεσίν τε καὶ σύγχυσιν." κ.τ.λ. The *Trinity* too is acknowledged (as existing), not in mere names, but in the Persons (or subsistences); for we do not say *One three-named* (Being), according to the contraction and confusion (in system) of Sabellius, Photinus, and Marcellus, &c.

[3] And he also allows the consequences contended for by our Author, would be good, provided he could allow his premises which speak of God as generating the Son: his words on this point are: "πᾶν γὰρ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον τέλειον εἶναι ἀνάγκη, μηδαμῶς προσδεόμενον τῆς παρ' ἑτέρου βοηθείας." "Nam quod de Patre procedit, *omnino necessariò perfectum est, nec ullius alterius indiget auxilio.*" And much to the same effect Eusebius of Nicomedia, as quoted by Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. mihi 22. D.

[4] Eccles. Theolog. Lib. III. cap. iv. p. 169. B. "εἶτα δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπεμπόμενος, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξεληλυθέναι ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν"..."διὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸ (τὸ πνεῦμα) εἴρηται."

Divinity[1]? And,' he goes on to say, 'in the same manner *is the Holy Spirit ever present to the Throne of God* (Dan. vii. 10 is then cited): that He is at one time sent, in the form of a Dove, on the Son of man; at another, on each of the Prophets and Apostles; whence He himself is also said to proceed from the Father.' And again, (ib.) 'The only-begotten Son teaches, that *He himself came forth from the Father*, because He *is ever with Him*.' 'And, in like manner, the Holy Spirit, being another *distinct from the Son*[2]. This, too the Son Himself shews when he says,

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[1] The following is a most full recognition of the Divinity of the Son, which I think it right to transcribe. Eccles. Theolog. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 66. A. "οὕτω καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν παραδίδωσι (ἡ Εκκλησία), τὸν πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατέρος γεγεννημένον· οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ πατρί. καθ' ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὄντα καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ ἀληθῶς υἱὸν συνόντα, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, καὶ ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς. ἀλέκτοις καὶ ἀῤῥήτοις...λόγοις, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ὅλων, γεγεννημένον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς λοιποῖς γεννητοῖς ὑποστάντα. οὐδὲ ζωὴν ἐμφερῆ τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένοις ζῶντα· μόνον δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αποτεχθέντα, καὶ αὐτοζωὴν ὄντα...ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς πατὴρ τὸν υἱὸν ὑφίστη αὐτοζωὴν ὀντα, ζωοποιὸν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ αὐτὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν." "Ad eundem quoque modum Dei filium unigenitum agnoscit (Ecclesia) cum, qui ante omnia sæcula de Patre fuit genitus: non illum certè, eundem cum Patre existentem, *at per se subsistentem, viventemque verè filium, cum Patre coexistentem, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, vitam de vita,* inenarrabilibus, ineffabilibus...rationibus de Patre genitum, ad salutem universis procurandam: nec vitam viventem cum illis parem qui ab eo sunt creati: solum de solo Patre genitum, *ipsammet vitam existentem*...qui solus bonus Pater est, Filium progenuit suum, *ipsammet vitam existentem,* et omnium quæ sunt vivificatorem: *ipsammet lucem verum.*" Where it should be observed that "*ipsammet*" does, in neither of these cases, express the force of the Greek compound, which is equivalent to the "καθ' ἑαυτὸν...ζῶντα, &c. above. The whole of this, and the following chapter (ix.) may justly be considered as our Author's exposition of the Nicene Creed. So again, (ib. p. 121.) "καθ' ἑαυτὸν δέ ἐστι ζῶν, καὶ ὑφεστῶς ἅτε Θεὸς ὤν." "*per se vivens est et subsistens, veluti qui Deus sit.*"

[2] P. 169. D. "ὁ δὲ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξεληλυθέναι ἑαυτὸν διδάσκει, διὰ τὸ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ πάντοτε, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον δὲ πνεῦμα ὁμοίως ἕτερον ὑπάρχον παρὰ τον υἱόν." On the office of the Spirit, ib. p. 172. B...."πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς (i.e. μαθητὰς)

"*He shall take of mine, and shall shew it to you*:" for,' he adds, 'this must clearly establish the point, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not *one and the same* (person): since that, which receives something from another, is understood (necessarily) as being something different from him who gives.' We have our author therefore, affirming, *that in the Trinity of Persons*, from the *First* in order, proceeds both the *Second* and *the Third* in order: that, as the Son is ever *present with*—elsewhere *in*—the Father; so also, is the Holy Spirit ever with Him: and further, that each of these is a *personal Agent* distinct and different from the other.

This question is carried on through the next chapter (v.), from which I shall deem it sufficient to make two extracts only, where mention of *the Holy Trinity* is again made, and the Divinity, and distinct Personality, of the Holy Spirit asserted and maintained. On the passage, "*He shall glorify me*," and "*He shall take of mine*" (p. 173. A. B.), it is said: 'To understand all these things, as said by the Saviour Himself respecting Himself, would be a grievous and incurable fatuity; for, on the contrary, the Saviour Himself clearly taught by them, that the Holy Ghost was another beside Himself; more eminent, more excellent, and more exalted in honour, glory, and endowments, than any intellectual and rational Essence. Hence,' it is added, 'He is also comprehended in *the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, not superior (al. *inferior*), nevertheless to Him (the Son); which He shews when He says, "*For He shall not speak of Himself, but that which He shall hear He shall speak.*" 'And of whom He shall hear He clearly shews, saying:' "*He shall take of mine, and shall shew it you*[3]:" 'that is, out of my treasure:' "*for in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.*" Where

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καὶ παραμυθεῖσθαι ἐφ' οἷς κηρύττοντες τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαυνόντων αὐτοὺς ἔπασχον...ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης." "Qui παρακάλῃ, id est consoletur, confortet, et adhortetur eos ad patienter sufferendum in Evangelii annunciatione, propter quam erant exagitandi...sed instituendos insuper in omni veritate novi fœderis."

[3] John xvi. 13, 14. The words are: "ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Σωτῆρα αὐτὸν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν, δεινὴ καὶ δυσθεράπευτος συνήθεια

it may be observed, our Author considers the words of our Lord sufficiently clear to determine the point, that the Holy Spirit was *an Agent*, entirely distinct and different from Himself: that in honour, glory, and endowments, He far excelled every rational and intelligent Being, because comprehended in *the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*[1]: though not superior[2] to Himself (i. e. the Son); which He shews by saying, "*He shall not speak of Himself, but what He shall hear He shall speak.*" 'From whom He shall hear,'—continues he,—'He makes clear by saying: "*He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it to you;*" 'that is, out of my treasure:' "*For in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*[3]." We have here therefore, the Holy Spirit exalted above *every created Being*, because He is comprehended in *the Holy Trinity*, yet not elevated above the Son; nor yet, in honour and dignity placed beneath Him[4], although receiving from Him

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θεια (al. εὐήθεια). ἀλλὰ γὰρ σαφῶς διὰ τούτων, αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἕτερον ὑπάρχειν παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἐδίδαξε. τιμῇ μὲν καὶ δόξῃ καὶ πρεσβείοις ὑπερέχον καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ ἀνώτερον πάσης τῆς νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς τυγχάνον οὐσίας· διὸ καὶ συμπαρείληπται τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ Τριάδι· οὐχ ὑποβεβηκός (al. ὑπερβεβηκός) γε μὴν εἶναι αὐτοῦ. ὃ δὴ παρίστη εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούσει λαλήσει. παρὰ τίνος δὲ ἀκούσει, διασαφεῖ λέγων· ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν. ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ δηλαδὴ θησαυροῦ. ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ εἰσι πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας ἀποκεκρυμμένοι καὶ γνώσεως."

[1] See also Præp. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xx. p. 541.

[2] The text has here οὐχ ὑποβεβηκός, which ought, no doubt, to be ὑπερβεβηκός, as the Editor has observed in his notes, p. 23.

[3] Col. ii. 3.

[4] And, to put this out of all doubt, he adds here: "λέγεται μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς Πνεῦμα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, εἰπὼν Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν, ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν· καὶ ἔσται ἀληθῶς ἅγιος ἁγίων αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπουόμενος." "Quocirca et Deus qui est super omnia, spiritus dicitur: quemadmodum ipse nos docuit Servator, *Deus spiritus est*, inquiens, *et qui adorarit eum, in spiritu et veritate adorare debeat.*" Eritque veraciter sanctus ille Sanctorum, et in sanctis acquiescens. He adds, "ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα ὢν τυγχάνει, καὶ Πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτὸς ἁγίων ἅγιον. εἰ δὲ εἰκών ἐστι τοῦ ἀοράτου. διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέλεκται, ὁ

according to the Divine appointments (or *Economy*), those spiritual things, which it belongs to his office to bestow. And, to assure us that He is not of the same nature or rank with the Angels, he tells us a little lower down (ib. D.), that 'although His PROPER *appellation* (ἰδίωμα) is that of the *Comforter* (παράκλητον); still, no one of the angelic Beings can be equal with Him. He alone is therefore, comprehended in the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*[5]. He adds, after citing the commission of the Saviour to His Disciples, *to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*,—in strict reference to the work of the Divine Economy,—'*The Father* authorizing (αὐθεντοῦντος) and giving the grace; *the Son* administering this:—"*for grace and truth are by Jesus Christ*,"

δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι." "Sed et Filius Dei cum Deus sit spiritus est: *et Spiritus sanctorum sanctus* si modo sit imago invisibilis Dei." I would merely remark here, that the same Divinity, the same sanctifying power, is ascribed to the Father and to the Son; and that the Holy Ghost is then declared to be a distinct and different Person from each, and is termed the Comforter, (παράκλητον), as shewn in the text. In the preceding page (172. C.) he tells us, that the Apostles were *baptized with the Holy Ghost* at the day of Pentecost, imparting thus to them *the Power* which had been promised from above. Again, (in page 3. ib.) he tells us, after stating that God over all, and the Father of the Only begotten Son, was now to be preached, so was *the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost*, imparted through the Son to those who were worthy; by which the holy Church of God receives, and keeps, *the Holy, blessed, and mystical Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for a saving hope, through the regeneration which is in Christ*..."τήν τε τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπιχορηγοῦσα δύναμιν. αὐτῷ πως τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ μυστικὴν Τριάδα, Πατρὸς, καὶ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς σωτήριον ἐλπίδα, διὰ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναγεννήσεως ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παραλαβοῦσα φυλάττει." All which, while it implies the one energy of the Deity as existing in the *Monarchy* (ἡ μοναρχία), or, which is the same thing, *the Holy Trinity* considered in the abstract, does, to my mind, clearly and correctly point out a diversity of Persons, as it respects the Divine Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία).

[5] "Αλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐξισοῦσθαι δύναται τῷ παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι. διὸ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ Τριάδι μόνον τοῦτο συμπαρείληπται." Which places the Holy Ghost far above all angelic nature, and joins Him *in the* same *Godhead with the Father and the Son.*

—*the Holy Spirit*, that is, the *Comforter Himself*, being the Dispenser (*χορηγουμένου*) of this, according to the division of gifts made by Him:' "*For*[1] *to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit;*" 'with those other things recounted in like manner.' Considering therefore, that Marcellus was attacking our author as an Arian, I do not see how he could have answered him more satisfactorily than he here has done[2].

There is one passage more which I think it right to adduce here, as affording a good opportunity of calling forth our Author's Arianism, if indeed he possessed any: it is 1 Cor. xv. 28. "*And when all things shall be subject*[3] *unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*" I must say, if there is one place in Scripture more likely than another, to call forth the Arianism of any writer, it is

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[1] Ib. p. 174. A. 1 Cor. xii. 7. seq.

[2] It will be seen how much reliance is to be placed on the statement of Du Pin, as given by Jortin (remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. Book III. p. 271), when he says, (Eusebius) "in his Præp. Evang. and Demonstr. and Eccles. Theol. affirms that He" (the Holy Ghost) "is not truly God. *The Holy Spirit*, says he, *is neither God, nor Son of God, because he hath not his origin from the Father, like the Son, but is of the number of things...made by the Son.*" I have not yet been able to find this passage in either of these three works mentioned; the fact is, it is taken from the acts of the seventh general Council, presently to be noticed.

[3] Of the subjection to the Son he says (p. 184. B.), "*ὑποταγήσεσθαι τῷ υἱῷ τὰ πάντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐθεκουσίου προαιρέσεως ὑπακοὴν, καὶ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἣν ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, οἷα Σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ, αὐτὸν ὑποταγήσεσθαι τῷ πατρὶ, οὐδὲν ἕτερον σημαίνει ἂν, ἢ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν, καὶ τὸ σέβας, τήν τε μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὴν αὐθεκούσιον ὑποταγὴν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς πάντας ἀξίους τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος εἶναι παρασκευάσῃ.*" "*Omnia Filio subjicientur.*" "Sed obedientiam voluit de libera procedentem voluntate et gloriam et honorem, et referebant ei omnia, utpote Servatori et Regi omnium: ad eundem modum, et illum subjectum iri Patri suo nihil aliud significat, quàm gloriam et honorem, et venerationem, et magnificentiam, et voluntariam subjectionem quem redditurus est ipse Deo et Patri, cum universos effecerit dignos divinitate paterna." He goes on to say (ib. p. 185), after citing Rom. viii. 5. Philip

this[4]. And, How does Eusebius deal with it? He tells us generally (ib. p. 187.), that to the kingdom of Christ there can be no end, according to the promise given by Gabriel to the Virgin. (Luke i. 33). He adds, 'The Apostle has not said that His kingdom shall ever cease; if he had, he would have contradicted the declaration of the Angel; but he said, that' "*He shall deliver the kingdom to his Father:*" 'that is, *those, over whom He shall have reigned*, He shall, when all shall have been perfected and enlightened by Him, deliver up to the Father; having received them as a deposit: which He teaches,' adds he, 'by saying: "*All things are delivered to me of my Father*" (Luke x. 20.). 'Then,' continues he, "*shall God,*" 'according to the saying of the Apostle, "*be all in all*"...For as He was first in the Son, according to the declaration, "*The Father is in me, and I in the Father*" (John x. 38); 'so shall He then be' (though not to the same extent, p. 186. C.) 'in all those who have been made perfect by the Son: the Apostle not saying, that the Son shall cease to reign, and that God shall reign; but, that the Son shall deliver to God the Father the kingdom as a safe deposit, thus manifesting His sufficient service, and priesthood, to the Father.' He concludes to the effect (ib. p. 186. B. seq.), that thus *shall God be in all*, dividing severally to each according to his capacity; but (ib. p. 188) '*to His only begotten Son He shall reserve that peculiar glory, honour, and rule, which belong to the Father*, and are incommunicable to all others.' And this is, in substance again affirmed (p. 194. B. C). The subordination of the Son therefore, he appears to understand as applying to the part which He sustained in the *Divine Economy*, as "*Ser-*

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iii. 21, and 2 Cor. v. 4) that, if our bodies shall be made like to His glorious body, and mortality be swallowed up of life; how much more shall not His Body, as administering to His own Deity, not only be swallowed up of life like ours, but of His own Divinity? "εἰ δὲ τὸ (al. τῷ) ἡμέτερον σύμμορφον ἐσται, τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ...πῶς οὐχὶ πολὺ πρότερον, τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα, ὡς ἂν ἐξυπηρετισάμενον τῇ αὐτοῦ θεότητι, καταποθήσεται, οὐχ ὑπὸ μόνης τῆς ζωῆς, ὁμοίως τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος." See also p. 186. B. seq.

[4] It is evident from the Tract of Gregory of Nyssa, published by Signor Mai, Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. Rom. 1833. Tom. VIII. p. 1, that this passage was so applied by the Arians.

vant and Priest," but not in any way tending to interfere with His *Divine nature or Godhead.* I must repeat it therefore, that, as this passage afforded an admirable opportunity for our Author to evince his tendency to Arianism—of which indeed every Socinian, Semiarian, and the like, has ever availed himself—and, as he has thus interpreted it, we cannot by any means consistently believe, that he was inclined to Arianism.

Section IV.

On the charges of Arianism brought against our Author.

It will be quite sufficient to our purpose, to consider only a few of the main objections brought against Eusebius, both, as it would be endless to examine every writer who has favoured the world with his opinions on this subject, and also unnecessary; I shall content myself therefore, with the principal ones advanced by Montfaucon[1]; a writer

[1] There is however one document which, as it has been made much of by Le Clerc, and also by his constant imitator Dr Jortin, should be noticed: it is a Letter,—cited by the *image-worshipping* Fathers of the seventh general Council, and ascribed by them to Eusebius,—which contains the abominations of Arianism. It will be found among the "Testimonia contra Eusebium," appended by Valesius to his life of Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. I. p. mihi 26: to which he gives this answer: "Neque enim de Eusebii fide agebatur in illa Synodo, sed *de imaginum cultu*, ad quem subvertendum cum adversarii paulo ante in urbe Regia congregati, testimonium ex Eusebii ad Constantiam Epistolâ protulissent, eoque maxime niterentur; *Patres septimæ Synodi ad elevandum testimonii auctoritatem acclamarunt, Eusebium Arianum fuisse.*" And a little lower down: "Proinde testimonium illud Patrum septimæ Synodi adversus Eusebium, etsi maximam habet auctoritatem, *tamen præjudicium potius quam Synodale judicium nobis videtur.*" From the epistle itself, it is evident that it is no genuine work of his: ascribing as it does to him opinions, not only not to be found in his writings, but actually combated by him; and savouring too strongly of those of Eusebius of Nicomedia, (p. lv. above,) to be ascribed to any other writer. Montfaucon seems to have thought this document too contemptible to deserve notice. Theodoret tells us too, that many such Letters were written by this said Eusebius, not to Alexander, but to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre. (Eccles. Hist. I. cap. vi.): and Socrates, that our Eusebius *did not favour the Arians*, (Eccles. Hist. II. cap. xxi.)

confessedly of the first learning and ability in matters of this kind. The work of this author, which I propose now to examine is, his "Præliminaria in Eusebii Commentaria in Psalmos," prefixed to the first volume of his "Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum, Parisiis 1706."

This writer then, in page xvi. commences his objections thus: "Ab unitate Dei ordiri operæ pretium erit, quam Eusebius in uno Patre servari, neque Filium, multoque minus Spiritum Sanctum, in ejusdam unitatis consortium clare et multis in locis adfirmat." Then come the proofs. 1. "Patrem enim in se totam deitatis plenitudinem, *excluso Filio*, complecti *indicat*, dum ipsum solum passim vocat, *τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν, τὸν ἐπίκεινα πάντων θεόν*: id est, *Deum universorum, Deum supra omnia, Deum ultra omnia.*" I answer: Nothing can be more certain, than that Eusebius does frequently speak of God in these terms. But I ask, Are we to conclude merely because he thus speaks of *the God of all, who is over all, beyond all*, and the like, that he thereby intends to exclude *the Son*, and much more the *Holy Ghost*[2] from partaking in His unity, and universal rule? From what we have

[2] From charges such as this brought frequently against our Author, one is tempted to imagine, that he was one of those who held that there was *a great, a greater*, and *a greatest Deity*; which, according to some, was first introduced by Arius. So Greg. Presb.: "Μέγαν θεὸν τὸν πατέρα, καὶ μικρὸν τὸν υἱὸν, καὶ κτίσμα τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἔλεγον (sc. οἱ Ἀρειανοί.") "Dixerunt magnum Deum esse Patrem, et parvum Filium, et creaturam Spiritum Sanctum." So also Greg. Nazian. "ἐκ μεγάλου, καὶ μείζονος, καὶ μεγίστου συνιστᾶν τὴν τριάδα." "ex magno, et majori, et maximo constituere Trinitatem." Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce Τριάς. I will remark here that, if the views, under which Trinitarians consider and speak of the Persons of the Holy Trinity,—supposing they used no terms but those found in the Scriptures,—are to be disregarded; it will perhaps be difficult to say which of them can escape the charge of Arianism. Cave thinks, that Eusebius was not so careful in expressing himself on this question, as he might have been, and that he was, on this account, misunderstood and misrepresented. It should be remembered, he lived in the earliest times of this controversy, and was therefore likely to speak less cautiously than those who came after him; but, on this account, he should be read with the greater care.

already seen, it appears to have been customary with the orthodox Fathers, when speaking of God *in the abstract*, or with respect to his *sole rule*, (ἡ μοναρχία) in opposition to the Polytheists, constantly to use these terms; and yet to have declared that they did not thus exclude either the Son, or the Holy Ghost, from the unity of the Godhead. And the same is obvious from our Author's reasoning above. In one place he expressly tells us (p. lxiii.) that, our Saviour's using the terms, "*The only true God*," does not *exclude Him* (*the Son*) from participating in the Godhead: nor does the apostolic declaration, that "*Christ shall be subject to His Father, that God may be all in all.*" And, the repeated declarations, that the *Holy Ghost is comprehended*,—notwithstanding His office of minister in the *Divine Economy*,—in the *Holy and Thrice blessed Trinity*, and is of a nature *superior to every intellectual and spiritual Essence*, are quite sufficient, as it appears to me, to establish the same of Eusebius.

But there are other places, of which Montfaucon could not have been ignorant, positively declaring that the Son is *not excluded*, when terms of this description are used. If we turn to the forty-third chapter of Isaiah in his edition of our Author's commentary on this Prophet, we shall find (p. 523), first, that the person there named *the Lord God*, ("κύριος ὁ Θεὸς") is said to be Christ, who gave his own blood for the redemption of Israel: and generally, throughout this Commentary, the Saviour is designated in terms equivalent to these. Again, (ib. v. 10.) we are instructed that the words, "*saith the Lord God, and my servant, whom I have chosen*" (λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ὁ παῖς μου, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην") refer also to our Lord, in conformity with Matth. x. 32. "*Whosoever shall confess me*," &c. And (ver. 11), on the words, "*I am God, and besides me there is no Saviour*" (Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ σώζων), it is said: '*There being one principle*[1], *there must be one Godhead, in which is also comprehended the Theology of His only begotten Son*;' by which we are, according to the technical usage of this term, to understand

[1] See p. xl. above, notes.

the Divine nature of Christ[2]. To the same effect, (ib. p. 527. D.) on chap xliv. 7: also (ib. 532. A. seq.) on chap. xlv. 7. seq. 22. (p. 535. D. E. 536. A. seq.): to which many other places might be added; all manifestly referring to the Person of Christ, when the *only true God and Saviour* is spoken of. Which will probably be deemed sufficient here.

Let us now examine a few of the more specific objections of Montfaucon. 'Let[3] no one,' says he, 'reply that

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[2] Gr. "μιᾶς γὰρ οὔσης ἀρχῆς, μία εἴη ἂν ἡ θεότης, ἣ συμπαραλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ θεολογία." As this latter term (θεολογία) has a technical application with the Fathers, it is desirable the reader should see how they use it. According to Suicer, sub voce, it is applied in four ways, 1. "Notat *doctrinam de Deo.*" 2. "Notat *doctrinam de SS Trinitate.*" 3. "Notat *divinam Christi naturam, seu doctrinam de ea.*" This is its import here: I shall therefore, give a few of the places cited by Suicer under this head. "Greg. Nyss. Orat. iv. contra Eunomium, Tom. ii. p. 533. dicit Johannem Evangelistam κερύσσειν τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θεολογίας, *Theologiæ*, vel potiùs *de deitate Filii mysterium prædicare.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. xxiv....de eodem Johanne asserit, *eum* θεολογίας ἀπάρξασθαι, *à deitate Filii suum incohare Evangelium.*" And a little lower down, "Greg. Nyss. Orat. vii. contra Eunomium, p. 633." "Εἰ Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, Θεὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς, τίς ἔτι καταλείπεται πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεολογίαν ἀμφιβολία;" "*Si Pater est Deus, et Deus etiam est Filius: quænam ad exactam de unigenito theologiam relinquitur dubitatio?*" And again: "Hîc observandum," says Suicer, "θεολογίαν et οἰκονομίαν apud Patres frequenter inter se opponi, quemadmodum οἰκονομία et θεότης, de quo in Οἰκονομία. Θεολογία *ad divinam*, οἰκονομία verò *ad humanam* refertur *naturam.*" Chrysost. Hom. cvi. Basil. Cæsar. Epist. cxli. p. 927. are cited; the latter of which is important to our question, and I shall give it. On John xvii. 3. (cited above), and xiv. 1, Basil thus writes: πανταχοῦ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἡμῶν ἀσφαλιζομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἵνα μὴ θατέρῳ προσβαίνοντες, θατέρου ἐκπίπτωμεν· καὶ τῇ θεολογίᾳ προσέχοντες, τῆς οἰκονομίας καταφρονῶμεν. "*Ubique mentes nostras confirmat Spiritus Sanctus, ut ne dum alteri acquiescimus, ab altero excidamus, hoc est, ne, dum ad naturam divinam attendimus, naturam humanam contemnamus.*" Several other passages are adduced to the same effect.—The fourth acceptation of this term, which he tells us is less obvious, is, its signifying Holy Scripture.

[3] Ne quis vero reponat, Patrem ideo Deum universorum ab Eusebio vocari, quod sit origo et fons Trinitatis, et in ratione principii primus exsistat; hoc catholicum interpretandi genus respuere occupat Eusebius, dum

Eusebius hence calls the Father, the *God of all*, because He is the origin and source of the Trinity, and is, as to principle, first: this Catholic mode of interpreting,' adds he, 'Eusebius undertakes to set aside, when he says, p. 424, on the tenth Psalm of Asaph, *That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he* (the Psalmist) *Deifies Him in the words before us, saying, "God stood in the assembly of Gods. And that no one should be disturbed as to the question of the* MONARCHY, *on hearing the Christ of God called God, he properly names those, many Gods,* who are *laid under accusation by the things following* (i. e. in this Psalm): *almost commanding* (them) *not to hesitate to call the Son of God, God. For, if the criminated governours of the nation were worthy of being called gods, What danger could there be, in confessing the man of the right hand of God, and the Son of man "made strong"* (for Himself, Ps. lxxx. 17.) *to be God?* 'And this still more clearly,' adds Montfaucon, 'in the exposition of the eighty-eighth psalm, p. 560: (Heb. lxxxix.) to this effect:

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dum ait, p. 424. ad Psalmum Asaphi decimum:" "ἵνα μή τις αὐτὸν ψιλὸν ὑπολάβοι ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιον, θεολογεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μετὰ χεῖρας, φήσας· ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν. καὶ ὅπως μὴ ταραχθείη τις εἰς τὸν περὶ μοναρχίας λόγον, θεὸν ἀκούων τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκότως καὶ πλείονας θεοὺς ὀνομάζει τοὺς διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς κατηγορουμένους, μονονουχὶ παρακελευόμενος μὴ ἀποκνεῖν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θεὸν ἀποκαλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχοντες, θεοὶ ἠξιώθησαν ὀνομασθῆναι, ποῖος ἂν γένοιτο κίνδυνος τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν κεκραταιωμένον, θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν;"..." Clarius autem in expositione psalmi lxxxviii. p. 560. id ipsum exprimit his verbis:" "Δοκεῖ δέ μοι ὁ προφήτης...ὑπερεκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἐπέκεινα πάντων, καὶ ὑπερ πάντας τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ θεοῦ· εἶτ' ἐκ τοῦ θαύματος ἀναπεφωνηκέναι τὸ ὅτι τίς ἐν νεφέλαις ἰσωθήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ;...ταῦτα δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ μονογενοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ λεγόμενοι σώζοι ἂν εὐσεβῆ τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐ μὲν περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων. ἀνοίκειος γὰρ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ἡ παράθεσις. τὸ γὰρ υἱοῖς θεοῦ παραβάλλειν τὸ πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ τὸ συγκρίνειν ἑτέροις τολμᾶν τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὅλων θεὸν, πάντων ἂν γένοιτο ἀνοσιώτατον, ἀκίνδυνος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος υἱοῖς θεοῦ συγκρίνειν υἱὸν μονογενῆ." κ. τ. λ. "Hic manifestè vides Filium longe inferiore quam Patrem gradu ab Eusebio reponi; ita ut nec ad unitatem Dei, nec ad unitatem principii universorum pertineat, neque deitate cum illo primo principio unum sit."

'*The Prophet seems astonished at the consideration of Him who is beyond all, the only begotten Son of God, and then to have cried out in his wonder, Who in the clouds shall be equalled with the Lord?* &c....*which, as spoken of the Son, evince a pious mind; but, as spoken of the Father and God of all, would present an improper and impious comparison. For, to compare Him who is the God of all, with the sons of God, and to dare to join the God who is beyond all, with others, would be of all things the most wicked. But it would incur no danger to compare the only-begotten Son of God with the sons of God,*' &c. Which Montfaucon affirms, shews that Eusebius placed the Son far beneath the Father in dignity, so that He could not appertain to the unity of the Godhead, nor to that of the *Principle* of all things, nor to be one in the Deity of that first principle.

It must be perceived at first sight, that the whole of this, as before, rests on mere inference: I now proceed to shew, that the inference is groundless. The place from which our first extract is made, is our Author's commentary on Ps. lxxxii. '*God,*' it is said "*standeth in the assembly of Gods;*" where, according to our Author, *God* refers to Christ; *gods*, to the governours of the Jewish nation. 'If then,' he adds, 'these governours (judges) were here so named by the Psalmist, What possible danger can there be, in ascribing the Divine name to Christ? The Psalmist,' he continues, 'almost commands this,' &c. Montfaucon then concludes upon the whole, that by this, i. e. as our Lord is here put in opposition to men only in the comparison, he is necessarily excluded from having any part in the Deity of the Father. But, Is this really the intention of our Author? All that he says, as far as I can see, is, that if these governours are thus dignified with the name of gods, much more ought He to be, whose place is the right hand of God. The argument is that, which is usually said to be *à fortiori*, i. e. makes its conclusion the stronger by introducing such comparison as this: which would induce one to believe, that Eusebius intended the very reverse of Montfaucon's conclusion.

It is interesting to observe, that this very Psalm has been cited, and this same comparison instituted by our Lord Himself, apparently for the purpose of convincing the

Jews of *His Divine nature.* We have in ver. 6 of this Psalm; "*I have said ye are Gods.*" In John x. 33. seq. it is said: "*The Jews answered him, saying, for a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.*" Our Lord then cites this verse, and adds, "*If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken: Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?*" He adds,—"*Believe the works, that ye may know and believe, that* THE FATHER IS IN ME, AND I IN HIM." Upon this it is said, "*therefore they* (the Jews) *sought again to take him.*" Because, as it should seem, He thus persevered in laying claim to *the Divine nature.* Is it not marvellous, that a writer of such learning and discrimination as Montfaucon really was, should thus have stumbled upon the very Scripture which our Lord himself had so explained, and have unhappily taken a view, as adverse to His interpretation of it, as it is to that of Eusebius?

It should also be observed, that, if our Author intended to exclude Christ from having any part in *the Godhead*, it will be extremely difficult to discover, why he prefaced his reasoning with these words: *That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he* (the Psalmist) *Deifies*[1] *Him in the terms,* "*God stood* (ὁ θεὸς, with the article prefixed) *in the assembly of Gods;*" when he had

[1] This term (θεολογέω) has, according to Suicer (sub voce) three acceptations. 1. *To speak of the Deity, to dispute theologically,* &c. 2. *To assert the Deity of any one,* (a) *of the Holy Trinity,* (b) *of God the Father,* (c) *most frequently of God the Son.* Greg. Nyss. Tract. ii. in Ps. ix. Tom. i. p. 318. Θεολογεῖν τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν. *Unigenæ Deo deitatem adscribere.* Θεολογεῖν Χριστόν, est *Christo deitatem asserere,* sive *naturam ejus divinam* contra Arianos *defendere,* apud Eusebium Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. xxviii. p. 56. b, apud Socratem, Lib. vii. cap. xxxi. p. 275. A. &c.... Eusebius Demonstr. Evang. Lib. v. p. 133. Ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ μαρτυρία ὧδε τὸν Χριστὸν θεολογεῖ, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, &c. "*Testimonium Evangelii hoc loco Christo deitatem asserit,* In principio erat Verbum, &c. Θεολογεῖν ἐν πατρὶ τὸν υἱόν, veteres dixerunt, quando *à Patre non excluditur Filius, sed cum eo, tanquam verus Deus, conjungitur,*" &c. which the student of theology would do well thoroughly to examine

just before said, that *this had respect to His appearing in the flesh* ("*τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν σημήνας*"). He adds, "*And, that no one should be disturbed as to the question of the* MONARCHY (*μοναρχίας*), *on hearing the Christ of God called God, he properly names those,* MANY GODS," &c., "*almost commanding* (them) *not to hesitate to call the Son of God, God.*" That is, he terms them *many* for the purpose, as it should seem, of excluding them from the Divine *Monarchy;* but, as good as commands (them) to call Him *God*, and to entertain no fear that this would, in any way, tend to injure the dignity of the Divine Monarchy. But, if it had been intended to exclude *all* here, Why was mention of the (Divine) Monarchy introduced? and, Why was the possibility of His being otherwise supposed *to be a mere man*, also introduced? In this case our Author would only have had to say, that, by all the terms, *God*, and *Gods*, was only meant *mere men*, the governours or judges among the Jews. But, when we know, that he did positively place our Lord, with the Holy Ghost, in the *Holy Trinity;* did, in other cases, positively make Him a partaker in *the Godhead*; and, that our Lord Himself did, from this very psalm, urge the question of His *real Divinity* upon the Jews,—which Eusebius had most probably in his eye,—it does seem, to my mind, as conclusive as it could possibly be, that he did intend to inculcate *His Divine nature.* Under this view our Author is consistent: the drift of his *whole* argument is obvious; and his conclusion is regular and complete.

We now come to our objector's second extract; and here, as before, we have nothing beyond *inference;* and that drawn from premises, which will by no means bear it. The sum of his reasoning is this: Eusebius declares that, to compare the beings here had in view with the Father, would be improper and impious; but, that it would not be so, to compare them with the Son. Eusebius, therefore, places the Son at an infinite distance from the Deity of the Father. This I will allow might seem

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and weigh. It may here be remarked, that our Author always uses the terms adopted by the orthodox Fathers, and in the sense in which they employed them.—See also our work below, pp. 177—179.

to be the case; but, Is it necessary to suppose that it does, beyond all doubt, present us with the intention and mind of Eusebius? Let us inquire.—First then, he instructs us in the same page of his Commentary[1] (560. E. seq.) that the place is to be understood, just as that is, which was last considered, viz. "*God stood in the assembly*," &c. And this, as we have seen, was intended to *assert*, not to deny, *the Divinity of the Son*.

In the next place, Eusebius speaks of the only begotten Son,—even as cited by Montfaucon,—as the *Being who is beyond all, and above all*[2], (τὸν ἐπέκεινα πάντων, καὶ

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[1] Gr. "εἰ δὲ πολλοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ καὶ θεοὶ κατὰ τὸ, ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν." "Quod si multi filii Dei sunt multique dii, secundum illud, *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum*." And again, (p. 561. C.) "τίνες δ' ἂν εἶεν οἱ περικύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ χρηματίζοντες, δι' οὓς εἴρηται, ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν...ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ." κ.τ.λ. "Quinam autem in circuitu ejus fuerint, nisi filii Dei, qui et ipsi quoque dii nuncupantur: quorum causa dictum est, *Deus stetit*, &c....unum et idem esse videtur mihi." And speaking of the service rendered by these heavenly powers he adds, pointedly marking *the Divinity of the Saviour*: "ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δυνατὸς εἶ φησὶν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθειά σου κύκλῳ σου, εἰκότως μέγας εἶ, καὶ φοβερὸς εἶ, καὶ ἐνδοξαζόμενος εἶ ἐν βουλῇ ἁγίων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τὴν σὴν θεότητα περιπολοῦσιν, οἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν συνορῶντες, τὰς πρεπούσας εὐχαριστίας μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ τῆς σῆς θεότητος ἀναπέμπουσιν." "Nam quia potens es, Domine, inquit, et veritas tua in circuitu tuo, jure magnus es, et terribilis et glorificatus in consiliis sanctorum et in iis qui *Deitatem stipant tuam*, qui conspecta promissorum tuorum veritate debitas cum admiratione *Deitatis tuæ* gratiarum actiones emittunt." Now, let it be asked,—considering the opinions held by Eusebius about Deity, and, that this was intended to be a representation of what was going on in heaven itself,—whether it is possible an Arian, intending *to lower the dignity of the Saviour*, could have uttered respecting Him sentiments such as these, and which occur in the very next page to that from which Montfaucon made his extract? A little farther on (p. 567) he asks, *On what account is this people of Christ blessed, who knows the song of jubilee* (here) *spoken of, otherwise than since they acknowledge* THE DEITY of the Saviour? "διὰ τί δὲ μακάριός ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ χριστοῦ λαὸς ὁ τὸν εἰρημένον ἀλαλαγμὸν ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπειδήπερ τὴν θέοτητα τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπιγινώσκων."

[2] Ib. also p. 564. A. "ἀληθεύειν δέ σε τὸν θεὸν ὄντα καὶ κύριον τῶν ὅλων πεπεῖσθαι χρὴ,...καὶ δυνατὸς εἶ μόνος καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας

ὑπὲρ πάντας), ascribing to Him the very same epithets that he does to the Father; and this, as distinguishing Him from the company of holy Angels, Archangels, and other Divine Spirits and Powers (ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων πνευμάτων τε θείων καὶ δυνάμεων χορόν); which last, however, Montfaucon omitted to cite. From this it should seem, that it was our Author's expressed intention, as before, to elevate the Saviour *above every created being, however dignified.* He also tells us, that the Prophet here seemed,—filled as he was by the Holy Ghost,—to be viewing *the glory of the only begotten of God*, and standing in the midst of the Church of the saints ("ὁ προφήτης ἁγίῳ πνέυματι θεοφορηθεὶς ... τὴν δόξαν ἑωρακέναι τοῦ μονογενοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἁγίων ἑστῶτος"). A similar vision has already been noticed (p. xxxiv. note), in which Isaiah saw "*Jehovah high and lifted up;*" and where St. John (xii. 41) has interpreted this, as belonging to Christ. We can hardly expect our author would think of giving a less dignified interpretation of this place; especially as the terms "*viewing the glory,*" &c. (τὴν δόξαν ἑωρακέναι) could scarcely have failed to bring to his mind the words of St. John, "*when he saw his glory*" ("ὅτε εἶδε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ"): and, if so, he could hardly have intended to point out here a Being inferior to that mentioned there, which was *Jehovah* himself. And again, the passage here had in view (Ps. lxxxix. 7) has, in the Hebrew text, the term *Jehovah;* where the whole passage stands thus: כִּי מִי בַשַּׁחַק יַעֲרֹךְ לַיהוָה יִדְמֶה לַיהוָה בִּבְנֵי אֵלִים.

...πάντοτε σὺ κρατεῖς, καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας σὺ δεσπόζεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων τυγχάνεις...τῶν τε τὴν σὴν θεότητα περιπολούντων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων οἰκητήρια...καὶ σὺ πάντων κρατεῖς, κύριος ὢν καὶ βασίλευς καὶ θεός." "Te porrò utpote *Deum et Dominum universorum,* veracem credere convenit...*solusque ac super omnes potens es*...Tu ubique imperas, et universorum substantiæ dominaris, quia universorum opifex es...Angelorum et Archangelorum *Deitatem tuam* stipantium, domicilia...et tu omnibus imperes, utpote *omnium Dominum, Rex et Deus.*" And p. 565. E. "μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ θέλειν καὶ τὸ δύνασθαί σοι οἷα θεῷ καὶ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων πάρεστι." "cum voluntate quippe tibi, utpote *Deo* et *Domino universorum,* adest potestas." I do not see how words could have attested the Divinity of Christ more strongly. See also the "*Eclogæ Prophetarum,*" p. 32.

Auth. Vers. "*For who in heaven can be compared unto the* LORD? *who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the* LORD?" And, as our Author has occasionally marked down the readings of the Hebrew text in his Commentary on this psalm, I shall perhaps be justified in taking it for granted, that he was aware of this fact. So far, there seems to have been no intention on his part, to place the Son of God in the predicament of a creature.

Let us now see, to what the objectionable comparison amounts. This, Eusebius has told us, might, without any danger, have been instituted with the Son. That is, as I understand it, for the purpose of shewing, that He was exalted far above every created intelligence, and therefore *Divine*, in the highest sense of that term. This, he seems to say, would have point and force here, and would evince *true piety* in any one who did it: but, if said with respect to the Father, would be *improper* (ἀνοίκειως): that is, as I understand it, would have been to compare mortal and finite beings, with a Spirit which is immortal and infinite, and with whom no such comparison could *properly* be instituted. It would be *impious* (ἀσεβής), not only because it would have been a daring attempt to set up a measure of those attributes, of which man can have no adequate conception; but would have had the effect *of positively excluding the Son*, who is, beyond all doubt, the Being had in view throughout this psalm. It would have been to judaize to the fullest extent, and therefore would have been *impiety of the grossest and blindest sort.* I must conclude therefore here, that the inferences of Montfaucon drawn from this passage are groundless, and not to be relied on; and, on the contrary, that Eusebius did in this instance, as in those already noticed, intend to maintain the *proper Divinity* of the *only begotten Son.* And Why, let it be asked, did not Montfaucon bring forward some of the many passages, also occurring in the Commentary on this very psalm, positively asserting the *Divinity of the Son*, and shew us, how these ought to be understood conformably with his objections? This, I will affirm, he was in honour and honesty bound to do. His not having done so, can perhaps be ascribed to one cause only, namely, his inability to do it.

The next objectionable passage adduced (p. xvii.) is from the "Demonstratio Evangelica" of our author (lib. vi. p. 257), where mention is made of a *first* and *second Deity*. But, as we have already seen that Eusebius did not, by this distinction, intend to lower the Divinity of the Son; and, as Montfaucon seems to have adduced it quite as much for the purpose of correcting the Latin translation of it, as of accusing him, it will not be necessary to notice it further.

His next citation (ib.) is of a different description, although it was made for the purpose of giving weight to the last; and, as this has also been brought forward by Le Clerc, and repeated after him by Jortin, I deem it right to give it a full consideration. It is taken from the Controversy with Marcellus (p. 109), and runs thus: "*οὐδὲ δύο θεοὺς ἀνάγκη δοῦναι τὸν τὰς δύο ὑποστάσεις τιθέντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰσοτίμους αὐτὰς ὁριζόμεθα.*" "*Neque necesse est eum duos Deos fateri, qui duas admiserit substantias: non enim illas honore pares esse definimus.*" Which Montfaucon tells us, so far allows the unity of the Deity, as it preserves the primary Deity and first principle, in the Father only; to which God the Son is far inferior, and is not comprehended in that unity[1]. The same, he continues, is affirmed in these words:—viz. of another extract from the same place.—"*Ἀλλὰ φοβῇ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μὴ δύο ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογήσας, δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσαγάγοις, καὶ τῆς μοναρχικῆς θεότητος ἐκπέσοις. μάνθανε τοίνυν, ὡς ἑνὸς ὄντος ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀγεννήτου θεοῦ, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένου, μία ἔσται ἀρχὴ, μοναρχία τε καὶ βασιλεία μία. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπιγράφεται τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα. κεφαλὴ γὰρ χριστοῦ ὁ θεὸς, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον.*" "*At vereris, mi homo, ne si duas fateare substantias*" (*hypostases*), "*duo item principia inducas, et a monarchica deitate excidas. Discas igitur, quod cum unus sit sine*

[1] His words, which I have here paraphrased, are, "Ita ut catenus unitatem deitatis statui velit, quatenus illa prima deitas, primumque principium in uno Patre servatur, cui longe inferior Deus Filius, in unitate illa non comprehendatur." I add, all the orthodox Fathers, I believe, also made the Father *Principle* in the Divine Economy: but did not,—as Eusebius did not—therefore exclude the Son from *the Divine Unity*.

principio et ingenitus Deus, Filius autem ex illo gignatur, unum necessario principium fuerit, monarchia et regnum unum; quia ipse Filius Patrem suum principium adscribit: caput enim Christi Deus est, secundum Apostolum."

Let us now endeavour to ascertain what Eusebius really meant by this. We must bear in mind, in the first place, that he was here arguing with a man who held, that *Christ*, THE WORD, had *no real and positive existence* (*οὐσία*), or *Hypostasis* (*ὑπόστασις*), in the Godhead; but remained only as an accident to the Divine mind, as a mere unannounced *word;* and hence, as remarked above, the term *word* was not here to be understood (*καταχρηστικῶς*) i. e. in an *abused* or *figurative sense*, but in its own *proper* force and meaning. And hence, our Author used the term *Hypostasis* (*ὑπόστασις*) in the first extract here given, and *substance* (*οὐσία*) in that from the "Demonstratio Evangelica." It has also been shewn above (p. xxxii), that the term (*οὐσία*) *substance*, was often used in the sense of *Hypostasis* (*ὑπόστασις*), when arguing against Marcellus and his followers. This must suffice on this part of our question.

We now come to the more important parts of these extracts, in which it is said (i.) that the Father and the Son are not *of equal honour* (*οὐκ ἰσοτίμους*), and (ii.) that the *Father* is the *Principle* of the *Son;* ascribing in each case a superiority to the Father. Let it be observed, in the first place then, that our Author does affirm, and in the very chapter from which these extracts have been made (p. 111), that the Church teaches,—having itself been taught by the Saviour,—that "*the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all* SHOULD HONOUR THE SON, *even as they* HONOUR THE FATHER[1]." It is but right to inquire therefore,

[1] John v. 22, 23. His words are: "ἡ Ἐκκλεσία αὐτοῦ δεδίδακται, τοῦτο πράττειν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθοῦσα· λέγει δ' οὖν αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρίνει οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἅπασαν κρίσιν δέδωκε τῷ υἱῷ· ἵνα πάντες τιμῶσι τὸν υἱὸν, καθὼς τιμῶσι τὸν πατέρα." He had just before said, quoting St. John i. 3, "πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ εγένετο, καὶ χώρις αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν· τηνικαῦτα καὶ Θεὸς, καὶ δεσπότης, καὶ σωτὴρ, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύοιτο ἄν. διὸ καὶ

how Eusebius intended to be understood, when he made these apparently conflicting statements.

The manner, in which Eusebius words our last extract, is, I think, quite sufficient to clear him from the charge of intending to deny the Divinity of the Son. His words are to this effect: You (Marcellus) are afraid, lest by confessing two *substances*[2], (*Hypostases*, or *Persons*,) you should introduce *two Principles*, and so should fall short of the one supreme Deity. Learn then, that since there is one God ungenerated and without beginning; and that, as the Son *is generated of Him*, there will necessarily be (but) *one Principle, one monarchy, and kingdom:* because the Son himself ascribes *the Principle* to His Father: *for* "*the Head of Christ is God*" according to the Apostle; and this, as Montfaucon affirms, excludes the Divinity of the Son. But, Does this necessarily follow from these words?

Eusebius, it should be remembered, was arguing against a writer who denied the existence of the *Person* (οὐσία or ὑπόστασις) of the Son, and who supposed that if he allowed this, he should also allow the existence of two Gods; and so virtually destroy the notion of the *unity* of the Deity. He is then admonished, that *the Deity*, considered in the abstract, is *one eternal*, and *un-*

σέβειν, καὶ προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τιμᾷν αὐτὸν οἷα Θεὸν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία." κ. τ. λ. "*Omnia...per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* Tum *et Deus, et Dominus,* et *Servator, et Rex prædicari poterit*" Atque ideò illud" (eum) "*adorare veluti Deum, et colere, et venerari, Ecclesia,*" &c. And again he tells us here, of what sort the honour is which is to be rendered to Christ:..."μὴ ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις, μηδ' ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις, ἢ ταῖς τούτων διαφερούσαις δυνάμεσι, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τῷ πατρὶ παραπλησίως."..."Non tanquam Prophetas, non velut Angelos, aut Angelis similes potestates"(?), sed *quemadmodum ipsum Patrem.*" I might therefore, if I thought it right to deal with Montfaucon as he has with Eusebius, have deemed it quite sufficient, merely to confront his citation with these.

[2] According to Justin Martyr, Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce Τριας. Tom. II. p. 1300. the terms *ungenerated* and *generated* are only names signifying modes of existence, not kinds of Essence. "οὐκ οὐσίας ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ τρόποι ὑπάρξεως."

begotten Being; and that as the Son is, according to *the Divine Economy, generated of Him*[1], consists of His Essence, subsists in Him, and is ever present with Him; there will still be but *one Principle, Monarchy, and Kingdom:* the Son Himself (although Divine in His nature), ascribing this supremacy (*as Son*) to the Person of God the Father: which is amply confirmed elsewhere by our author's asserting, that *the Father, Son,* and *Holy Ghost,* constitute *one Principle*[2], are included in the *same holy Trinity*[3], and partake of the same *Essence and Godhead*[4], as already shewn. And with this view

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[1] Montfaucon tells us (ib. p. xviii.), that he has rendered ὑπόστασις *hypostasis,* by *substance,* because it was customary in the times of Eusebius so to receive this term, as Athanasius has also done; and also, as Eusebius both admitted and taught, that the *substances* of the Father and of the Son, were diverse, the common distinction of *Persons* and *Hypostases* would be useless. That is to say, as this term was then in use, and Athanasius himself had used it *in the same way;* it is right to condemn Eusebius because he has so used it; yet, as I (Montfaucon) can assure you for a totally different purpose. One cannot but wonder, I think, in finding reasoning such as this in the deservedly eminent Bernard Montfaucon. He proceeds then to affirm, that Eusebius has in these two extracts OPENLY professed *two divers substances* (*Hypostases*) in the Father and the Son; and adds, that He who places the unity of Principle and of Deity in the Father, *excluding the Son,* must necessarily lay down two diverse substances. But Eusebius has *openly* done neither: the whole is a mere inference on false grounds. The reasoning too, affords as fine an instance of arguing in a circle, as I remember ever to have seen!

[2] Page xl. note. [3] Ib. notes.

[4] See particularly our work below, pp. 178-9. So also Basil de Spiritu Sancto, Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub. voce Μοναρχία. "Θεὸν καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἰδιάτον τῶν ὑποστάσεων ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ μένομεν ἐπὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς πλῆθος ὑπεσχισμένον τὴν θεολογίαν μὴ σκεδαννύντες." "*Deum enim ex Deo adorantes, et proprietatem profitemur personarum, et manemus in fide de uno Deo, non dividentes divinæ naturæ rationem in multitudinem subdivisam.*" And Athanasius on the *humiliation* of the Son. "τὸ, ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, καὶ, ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ, ἔκτισέ με, καὶ, ἐγώ εἰμι σκώληξ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις εἶπεν ταπεινὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ ἐφόρεσεν σωμα δι' ἡμᾶς εἴρηται." "Illud; *Ego sum vitis, et Pater meus major me est,* item, *Creavit me,* et, *Ego sum vermis et non homo;* et quæcumque in Evan-

agrees the context following, viz. "*οὐδὲ δύο Θεοὺς ἀνάγκη δοῦναι τὸν δύο ὑποστάσεις τιθέντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰσοτίμους αὐτὰς ὁριζόμεθα· οὐδὲ ἄμφω ἀνάρχους, καὶ ἀγεννήτους· ἀλλὰ μίαν μὲν, τὴν ἀγεννήτον καὶ ἄναρχον· θατέραν δὲ γεννητὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸν πατέρα κεκτημένην.*" "*Neque necesse est eum duos Deos fateri, qui duos admiserit hypostases. Nam neque illas*" (sc. hypostases) "*honore pares ponimus: neque ambas principio carentes, aut ingenitas: sed unam ex illis ingenitam, sine principio existentem; alteram vero genitam, et patrem sui ipsius*" (ceu?) "*principium possidentem.*" By which our author seems to say, It is not necessary that he who admits *two Hypostases*, should also admit *two Gods* distinct *as Principles;* for we do not define these *Hypostases as equal in honour*, so as to set up two *Monarchies;* nor, hence two *without beginning* and *unbegotten;* but we define ONE Hypostasis, as *without beginning* and *unbegotten;* the other *begotten*, and as having for *Principle the Father.* The meaning of Eusebius evidently is, that, as he holds *one Godhead, one Monarchy, one Holy Trinity*, which comprehends the scriptural doctrine respecting God; he does not by confessing *two*, or even *three, Hypostases*,—which, *as such*, are not spoken of *with equal honour in the Scriptures*,—necessarily confess the existence of *two* or *more Godheads, Monarchies*, or the like, each equal in honour; but on the contrary, he does, with reference to these *Hypostases*, consider them in the order and rank in which Holy Scripture places them. And, in this point of view, *the Father* is looked upon even by the Son *as Principle.* Then follow certain passages of Scripture, ascribing the superiority to the Father, as "*I go to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God.*" And, after combating the notion of Marcellus, and shewing the impossibility of these Scriptures being made to quadrate with his Sabellian notions; he concludes, as already remarked, by ascribing an honour to the Son *equal* to that given to the Father, and *superior* to that attributed to any created being whatsoever; for, adds he, *He who has seen the Son, has seen the Father; viewing the*

geliis et in Prophetis de se humilia et abjecta dixit, corpus quod propter nos tulit spectant." Sermo major de Fide, Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. II. p. 8.

unbegotten Godhead, as in an image or a glass, characterized in the Son[1].

From which I think it must be evident, that Eusebius here spoke, not *as a Metaphysician*, but *as a Theologian*. As a Metaphysician he tells us, that the *Son existed unbegotten eternally in the Father*, as noticed above[2]; and in our work (p. 67), that *He had no beginning*. Here, he tells us *as a Theologian*, and in conformity with the terms of Scripture, that his creed embraces *one God only, one Principle, one Supreme rule* (μοναρχία); and that, although he holds *the Father and the Son* to be *two distinct subsistences*, the former *Superior* and as *Principle*, with reference to the other; yet, that the other is nevertheless *God and King*, and is adored and worshipped as taught by the Church *as God*, and is to be honoured *even as the Father is;* because in Him alone can the Father be received, known, and honoured. We may therefore conclude here, that, so far, Eusebius does not appear to have intended to speak lightly of the Divinity of the Son, and that Montfaucon's reasoning on the subject, is partial and defective.

The next objectionable place cited by Montfaucon, is one in which he thinks he has detected a very defective

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[1] "ὁ γὰρ ἑωρακὼς τὸν υἱὸν, ἑώρακε καὶ τὸν πατέρα· τὴν ἀγεννήτον θεότητα, οἷον ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ κατόπτρῳ, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ χαρακτηριζόμενον ὁρῶν." Ib. p. 111. D. See also ib. p. 194. seq. where this point is argued more in detail, and Col. ii. 9. is referred to, as determining *the Godhead of the Son.*

[2] Page xlix. note, and again, Lib. II. cap. xiv. p. 121. A. "ὁ δὲ Θεὸς λόγος, οὐχ' ἑτέρου δεῖται τοῦ προϋποκειμένου, ἵν' ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος ὑπόστῃ· καθ' ἑαυτὸν δέ ἐστι ζῶν καὶ ὑφεστὼς, ἅτε Θεὸς ὤν." "*At Deus logos, non altero indiget præexistente: ut in ipso* (eo?) *sit et subsistat: sed per se vivens est et subsistens, veluti qui Deus sit.*" Then again, in the following context, he speaks *as a Theologian* of the Father *as Principle.* In the one case affirming of THE WORD, that it *subsisted of itself,* and *stood in need of no other pre-existing* (Being), being itself *God;* and, in the other, as not being without another as *Principle* (μὴ ἄναρχον). In the former case, speaking of *Deity* in the abstract, and also in accordance with the Scriptures, and positively ascribing this to the Son: in the latter, as to *the particulars* recorded of the Deity in the Scriptures only, and with respect to the *Divine Economy.* Not as Montfaucon and others have supposed, viz. that what he has said, under one point of view, is to be regulated and limited, by what he has affirmed under another.

statement respecting the *Unity*, made by our Author: it is this, (Contra Marcellum c. xix. 192). 'And[3] indeed we all shall be in this way, one with the Father and the Son. For as, He said, that Himself and the Father were one, saying, "*I and the Father are one*;" 'so does He pray that we all should, in imitation of Himself, partake of His own unity; not according to Marcellus; the *Word* being united to God, and (considered as) being attached to the Essence (as an accident): but, as the truth testifies, the Saviour Himself saying,' "*The glory which Thou hast given to me, I have given to them; that they may be one, according as we are one.*" 'Where,' he goes on to say, 'Eusebius clearly explodes the substantial unity of the Father and the Son,' &c. I remark, This, as before, is a mere inference, and it is as groundless as it is positive.

Let us consider the circumstances of this case. Eusebius is here arguing with Marcellus; who, as already stated, considered THE WORD as a mere *unsubstantial enunciation;* and which, before enouncement, rested as a volition only in the Divine mind: and this he has in view when he speaks of '*the Word being united to God*, &c. His assertion here is therefore, that the Saviour's prayer (John xvii.) is not to the effect that He and the Father, the Disciples and Himself, should be considered as united in this way; but in that in which each should, *in His own proper person*, partake of the Father's glory: or, in the words of St Peter, that the Disciples should be "*partakers of the Divine nature*" (2 Pet. i. 4.), even as Christ was, of that of the Father. So far then, we may conclude, nothing unscriptural, untrue, or dishonourable to the Son, was here intended by our Author: the question here not being, as to *Essence*, but as to *privilege*.

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[3] Gr. "καὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἓν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οἱ πάντες γενησόμεθα. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἓν εἶναι ἔλεγε, φάσκων· ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν· οὕτω καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μίμησιν, τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς αὐτοῦ μετασχεῖν εὔχεται· οὐ κατὰ Μάρκελλον τοῦ λόγου ἑνωμένου τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ συναφθησομένου· καθὼς δὲ ἐμαρτύρησεν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς εἰπών· τὴν δόξαν ἣν ἔδωκάς μοι, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς· ἵνα ὦσιν ἕν, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἕν ἐσμεν."

It should be observed, that this extract is taken from our Author's explanation of 1 Cor. xv. 28; of which some account has already been given above[1] (p. lxx). From chapter xiv. (p. 182), to the end of the Ecclesiastical Theology against Marcellus, he argues this question, viz. as to how the passage, "*When all things shall be subject unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all*," ought to be understood: his general conclusion we have already given. The part of it, which now concerns us is, How did Eusebius understand its last portion, where it is said, "*that God may be all in all*"? The passage cited above by Montfaucon, and objected to by him, is part of his reasoning on this point; and it must be obvious from what has already been said of it, that Eusebius did not here intend in any way to discuss the question, as to the *abstract nature* of the Godhead, either of the Father or the Son, but only to speak of *the glory* received under *the Divine Economy*, from the Father as *Principle*, both by the Son, and by those also who are said to be made the sons of God, in and through Him. What our Author had said therefore on one question, Montfaucon very disingenuously cites against him on another!

If then Eusebius had left the question in this state, no Theologian, laying claim to a particle of ingenuousness, could have taken it up as matter of charge against him, on the Godhead of the Son. But happily, Eusebius has not left the question at this point; he has also stated his mind,

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[1] I think it right to make one extract here to shew, in what way believers were supposed by Eusebius, to partake of the excellence of the Son, (ib. p. 134. D. seq.) "φωστῆρές τε ἀναδειχθήσονται τοῦ νέου αἰῶνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ φῶτα χορηγούμενοι καὶ υἱοὶ δὲ Θεοῦ ἔσονται, τῷ τῆς υἱοθεσίας πνεύματι κοσμηθέντες· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν αὐτῷ δυνάμεων μεθέξουσιν, οἱ αὐτῷ ὑποταγήσομενοι. ὡς καὶ δικαίους γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνης· καὶ ἁγίους ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁγιωσύνης." κ. τ. λ. "Luminaria designabuntur novi sæculi, quibus lux ab illo suppeditabitur. Filii Dei futuri filiationis spiritu ejus adornati et exculti. Quomodo, qui illi sunt subjiciendi omnes, facultatum ejus cæterarum participes fient. Nam et justi futuri sunt, *de justitia ejus; et de sanctitate illius, sancti*," &c. A passage, I think, evincing as highly an enlightened mind, as it does a deep and well grounded piety.

as to the different degrees, in which this is to be realized both *in the Son*, and *in His followers*, in these words,—which have been already cited, that "*That God may be all in all:*"—'He shall be all things in all, according to the faculty of each: supplying to all the different conceptions of His Divinity; *but reserving to His only begotten Son alone*, THE CHIEF AND PATERNAL GLORY, HONOUR *and* KINGDOM, *which is incommunicable to all others.*' The same sentiment is also given (ib. p. 186. C.). After stating, that God shall dwell and walk in those who are His, he adds 'but, thus *He will not be in them, as He is said to be in the Son*: οὕτω μὲν οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγεται εἶναι τῷ υἱῷ. And again, (ib. p. 192. C.) after stating that we shall not henceforth be many, but shall all be united in the Godhead and glory of His kingdom,' he adds, '*Not by commixture in one* (Divine) *Essence; but by a perfection* (even) *to the summit of virtue.*' ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν πολλοί, ἀλλὰ οἱ πάντες εἷς, ἑνωθέντες αὐτοῦ τῇ θειότητι, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ κατὰ συναλοιφὴν μιᾶς οὐσίας, κατὰ δὲ τελείωσιν τῆς εἰς ἄκραν ἀρετῆς[2].

[2] Ib. p. 193. D. "οὕτως οὖν ἓν εἰσιν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κατὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς δόξης," &c. "Ita Pater et Filius unum sunt, *communionis claritatis* (gloriæ?). And again, (p. 194. B.) After citing, "*I will walk in them,*" &c. Eusebius adds, "ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν, καὶ κινούμεθα, καί ἐσμεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα περὶ ἡμῶν λέλεχται, τῶν κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ὑφεστώτων, καὶ ζώντων, καὶ μηδὲν ἐχόντων κοινόν πρὸς τὴν πατρικὴν θεότητα. τί δὲ οὖν χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, αἱ παραπλήσιαι φέρονται φωναί· οὐκ ἀναιροῦσι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· οὐδ' αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν, διδάσκουσι· τὴν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδιάζουσαν καὶ ἐξαίρετον τιμὴν, καὶ δόξαν, τῆς μονογενοῦς καὶ θεϊκῆς κοινωνίας παριστῶσαι." "*Nos in ipso vivimus et movemur, et sumus.*" "Quæ sanè omnia de nobis dicuntur, qui tamen in propria hypostasi subsistimus et vivimus; nec quicquam habemus cum *paterna divinitate commune.* Quocirca non est mirum, si de Filio tales voces usurpentur: quæ minimè tollant tamen ipsius hypostasin: nedum confirmant ipsum esse et patrem et filium: tantummodo repræsentent *illam divinam unigeniti Filii communionem, honorem,* atque *gloriam,* quam ex illa à patre suo habet." The latter part of this falls very far short of the original; which virtually affirms, not only that these terms have a very different application when applied to us, from what they have when applied to the person of the Son; and, that the Father and the Son are not the same Hypostasis; but also, that

From which I think it must be as certain, as the nature of the case can require, that Eusebius did not here intend to argue on the abstract character of the Deity; and also, that he sufficiently guarded himself against the accusation, which Montfaucon thought it right to advance against him.

I do not think it necessary to follow Montfaucon any farther: every main point, connected with the question before us, has been considered at sufficient length to shew, that our objector had no good grounds for the allegations which he brought forward. It must be evident, I think, to every one desirous of adhering to the truth, that the sort of controversy here set up by Montfaucon, is not that, out of which truth can elicited. To cite a passage here and there from the works of any author, and then to argue thereon, regardless of the context in which it is found, and of the opinions elsewhere positively expressed and maintained by such author,—which is the course pursued here by Montfaucon,—must leave it at the will of him who does so, to come to any conclusion whatever, which may seem good in his sight. We pass on now therefore to other matter.

Section V.

On the charge advanced by Photius against our Author, alleging that he erred with Origen, on the resurrection of the dead.

The charge brought forward by Photius is, that Eusebius was infected with the malady of Origen, as to the resurrection of the dead. The passage containing this charge is given by Montfaucon, in his "Bibliotheca Coisliniana," page 348, as something *new*, and worthy of presentation to persons skilled in Ecclesiastical History; and out of which *new* matter for controversy would probably arise: although, as he goes on to say, many had suspected that

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that they ascribe to the only begotten Son, the *proper and chief honour and glory of the Father*, and *a divine communion with Him*. Is it not marvellous that all this escaped Montfaucon?

Eusebius was so tainted, from his frequent perusal of the works of Origen.—There was however, nothing new presented in this extract from Photius; for Valesius had published it long before among the testimonies against Eusebius, which he appended to his life of Eusebius [1].

The charge runs thus: Many [2] know, and it is easy to find from numerous places, that (Eusebius) did from the first secretly foster the Arian opinions, and ceased not to the last to defend them. And, that he partook of the disease with which Origen was infected, as to our common resurrection;—if it escapes the many;—he, who reads his compositions with care, will nevertheless perceive him to have been no less held by this destructive unsoundness, than he was by the Arian mania.

The error of Origen was, that *the Body* of our Lord became, after His resurrection, of *an etherial and divine quality* [3]. Let us now see how far the writings of Eusebius are chargeable with this error. In our following work, he speaks of the 'Body being impervious to death,' after it shall have undergone dissolution by death; and again, he says

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[1] Prefixed to his edition of the works of Eusebius.

[2] The words, as given by Montfaucon, are these: "ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰς Αρειανικὰς δόξας ὑπέθαλπεν, καὶ μέχρι τέλους οὐ διέλιπε περιέπων, πολλοί τε συνεπίστανται, καὶ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι λαβεῖν πολλαχόθεν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ωριγένους νόσου μετέσχεν ἣν κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόσησεν ἀναστάσεως, εἰ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπολανθάνει· ἀλλ' οὖν αὐτὸς σὺν ἐρεύνῃ τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους ἀναλεγόμενος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτὸν τῷ ὀλεθρίῳ τούτῳ ἀῤῥωστήματι ἢ ταῖς Αρειανικαῖς μανίαις κεκρατημένον ὄψει." The charge here made,—and in which Montfaucon seems to exult,—as to our Author's persevering in Arianism and even defending it to the last; Athanasius himself, who was no friend to Eusebius, has sufficiently answered; who tells us, that after he had subscribed to the Council of Nice, (p. li.) he went on to accuse the Arians. Vales. Life of Euseb. p. mihi 25. Athanasius also declares in the preceding page, that Eusebius was his enemy.

[3] As cited from Origen's Tract against Celsus by Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce ἀνάστασις. "τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ θνητοῦ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ιησοῦ σῶμα, εἰς αἰθέριον καὶ θείαν ποιότητα." "Qualitatem mortalem Jesu corporis in æthereum et divinam qualitatem mutatam esse." See the following extracts also given by Suicer: who tells us here, that the Romanists, (Pontificii) assert the same thing.

(p. 61), 'When he shall receive his Body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption,' &c. evidently alluding to 1 Cor. xv. 53. (See also ib. sect. 76.) Again (page 185), speaking of our Lord's appearing after His resurrection, he says, 'He shewed to His disciples the selfsame person, *both in body and substance just as it formerly was.*' Again (p. 186), 'Had He led on that mortal (being, or body)...to corruption and perishing, He would have seemed as a spectre.' Evidently intimating that His body was substantial. Again, p. 187, 'He shewed proof that this same (Body) was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, made immortal that which was mortal.' In page 195, he makes the resurrection of our Lord, 'the beginning of that immortal life (for us all) which is with God.' Ib. p. 196, 'It was necessary the Disciples should see, with their own eyes, the life which is after death;' which must imply their viewing their own resurrection in His. It is added, 'He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory obtained over death.' To the same effect are pages 188-9. And again, p. 200, 'Then also did the all-life-giving WORD of GOD evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the *second birth of this selfsame mortal* (body)'. Ib. sect. 62. he speaks of *this second birth*, which had also (now) become that of the Disciples, and which they preached to all. See also ib. sect. 63. seq. and p. 207. Whence it will be seen, that a very large portion of this book (iii), proceeds on the assumption,—as on a thing about which there can be no doubt—that the body shall be, after the resurrection, just as that of our Lord's was,—identically the same with that, which had previously lived and died.

We are told in the Controversy with Marcellus, (p. 184. seq.) that, when the last enemy death shall have been subdued, then shall our bodies be made like unto His glorious Body: ours swallowed up of life, His of the Divinity, as already noticed. This subject however is more particularly discussed, in an earlier part of this Work, (Ib. x. p. 177. seq.), from which it will be sufficient for our purpose to make a few extracts.

After speaking of the absurd Sabellian notions of Marcellus, as to the flesh of the Saviour being laid aside at His

death, he proceeds: 'You[1] see what words he dares to throw out against the flesh of the Saviour; not aware that before His being taken up into heaven, He thus glorified it (i.e. the flesh), before suffering, on the mount while on earth, shewing to His three chosen Disciples alone the image of His kingdom, so that His face shone, and gave forth rays of light[2].' "*For His face*," 'says the Holy Scripture,' "*became as the Sun, and His garments white as the light.*" 'Nor[3],' adds he, 'did he (Marcellus,) understand what sort of glorified body of Christ,—nor how our bodies are to be conformed to that body,—the Apostle taught, by saying,' "*Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious Body.*" 'Nor knowing in what way he wrote, that mortality shall be swallowed up of life, saying,' "*Not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.*" 'Holding ignorantly of all these things,' adds he, 'he goes on to shew that the WORD,' (as a mere word) 'shall one and the same be with God, as it formerly was; but the flesh be left by the Word, I know not whatever to be.'—From all which it must be as clear as words can make it, that Eusebius believed the *Body of our Lord, so glorified* on the mount, was not only the same Body that should be glorified in heaven; but also, that this transfiguration was intended to shew, that *our bodies* should in like manner *be clothed upon*, and our mortal be

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[1] Matth. xvii. 1, 2, &c.

[2] "Ὁρᾷς, ὁποίας προέσθαι φωνὰς κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τετόλμηκεν· οὐκ ἐπιστήσας, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλήψεως, ἔτι οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ γῆς, πρὸ τοῦ πάθους, οὕτως ἐδόξασεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, τρισὶν τοῖς ἐκκρίτοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς μόνοις, εἰκόνα δεικνὺς τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐξαστράψαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ φωτὸς μαρμαρυγὰς ἐκλάμψαι."

[3] "Αλλ' οὐδὲ συνεὶς, ὁποῖον σῶμα χριστοῦ δόξης ὁ θεῖος Απόστολος· καὶ ὡς καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα σύμμορφα ἔσεσθαι ἐκείνῳ τῷ σώματι ἐδίδαξε." (Philip. iii. 21.) "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νοήσας τίνι τρόπῳ καταποθήσεσθαι τὸ θνητὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ἔγραψε" (2 Cor. v. 4.) "τούτων ἀμαθῶς ἔχων, τὸν μὲν λόγον διαβεβαιοῦται ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν μέλλειν γίγνεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἦν· τὴν δὲ σάρκα, κατλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ, τι ποτὲ γενήσεσθαι."

swallowed up of immortality, just as that of the Saviour's should, of the Divinity. This will also supply a good comment on certain passages in our following work, e. g. p. 54. "Shall clothe him, both in body and soul, which are now incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description." See also pages, 57. 61, &c.

Reasoning to the same effect will be found in his commentary on Isaiah, where we are told on chapter lx. ver. 19, that 'there [1] shall be a certain pillar emitting Divine light, the Body of the resurrection, called' "*the garment of salvation.*" 'For there shall be no longer the Body of death, such as Paul shewed forth' (Rom. vii. 24)...'For,' he goes on to say, 'The garment of salvation shall be put about the soul, and the coat of gladness,' &c. In the first case *the same glorified Body of our Lord* is evidently meant; as the words are a comment on, "*The Lord shall be thy everlasting light, and God thy glory:*" and, in the second, the glorified bodies of His followers, *as clothed upon* by virtue of His resurrection. So again, on chap. lxv. 20. p. 587. C. D. 588 A: chap. lxvi. 20, 21. p. 592, 593. to some of which, parallels may be adduced from our following work.

I shall notice only one place more, and then come to a conclusion on this whole subject. This place I think an important one, as it will shew how far our Author had the advantage over his opponent, as an interpreter of Holy Writ; and, at the same time, as to the spirituality of his views. Marcellus tells us then, (ib. p. 179 A.), that the flesh could not, as it respected the Resurrection of our Lord, profit in any way, as the Saviour Himself had said (John xi. 62, 63.), "*What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing:*" To this Eusebius replies: 'But [2] you must, upon again taking up the evan-

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[1] His words are: "στήλη δέ τις ἔσται φῶς ἀπαστράπτουσα θεῖον, τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τὸ λεγόμενον ἱμάτιον σωτηρίον. οὐκέτι γὰρ θανάτου σῶμα, οἷον ὁ Παῦλος ἐδήλου λέγων (Rom. vii. 24.)... σωτήριον δὲ ἱμάτιον τῇ ψυχῇ περιθήσεται, καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης."

[2] "'Αλλὰ σύ γε ἀναλαβὼν τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν γραφὴν, θέα τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίαν, ὅπως οὐ περὶ ἧς ἀνείληφε σαρκὸς διελέγετο· περὶ δὲ τοῦ μυστικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος." (John vi. 30.

gelical Scripture, observe that the whole of our Saviour's doctrine (here), does not speak of *the Flesh which He had assumed*, but of His *mystical Body*, and *Blood*.' He then cites a considerable part of the context, and adds: 'By which He taught them, *spiritually to hear the things said respecting His Body and Blood*.' 'Think not that I say, It is right *to eat the flesh which I carry about me;* nor understand me to enjoin, *the drinking of the sensible and bodily blood;* but know well, that the words which I have spoken to you, are spirit and life. So that His declarations and words were (hereon) the Flesh and Blood, of which he who ever partakes, shall, as nourished with heavenly bread, also partake of the heavenly life.' He repeats it, that these things are to be spiritually received, not as this new Interpreter had taken them, as referring to the Flesh of our Lord; which, as being profitless according to his views, could be of no avail in the life to come. From which I think, both the heterodoxy [3], and ignorance of Scripture, betrayed by Marcellus, must be too obvious to require one word of comment; as must the sound and scriptural views of our Author. And, we may conclude here upon this question, that it is equally evident, the charge which Photius brought against him, is no less discreditable to himself, than it is groundless and scandalous.

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seq. Exod. xvi. 14)...." δι' ὧν ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτοὺς πνευματικῶς ἀκοῦειν τῶν περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων· μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα, ἣν περίκειμαι, νομίσητέ με λέγειν, ὡς δέον αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν αἷμα πίνειν ὑπολαμβάνετέ με προστάττειν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά μου ἃ λελάληκα ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή ἐστι· ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὧν ὁ μετέχων ἀεί, ὡσανεὶ ἄρτῳ οὐρανίῳ τρεφόμενος, τῆς οὐρανίου μεθέξει ζωῆς." The Commentary of Euthymius on this place, is to the same effect: taking the general sense to be the Doctrine of Christ; but the particular one, as having respect to the sacrament of His Body and Blood. How much better is this than the modern figment of Romanists, whose whole attention is directed to the bodily and sensible elements?

[3] Yet Jortin, after Le Clerc and Pere Simon, thinks that he held much the same opinions that Christians now do: but this, his very zealous and learned advocate Montfaucon, could neither prove, nor persuade himself to affirm.

General Conclusion.

Whether we view the opinions of our Author as apparent from his Platonic inclinations, and his notions of Deity accordingly; his assenting to the statements of that philosopher; of his commentators Plotinus and others; of Philo and Aristobulus, as Platonizing Jews; of certain portions of the Apocryphal Scriptures, as to the particulars here had in view; his viewing the Holy Trinity, in conformity with these authorities, as consisting of a *First*, *Second*, and *Third Cause*, *each equally Divine;* his viewing *the Holy Trinity* as a Theologian, and affirming of it, that it constitutes the *one Monarchy*, *Principle*, and Rule; declaring also as a Theologian, that it comprehends, according to the *Divine Economy*, the Rule of *the Father*, and the ministration *of the Son* in the person of *Jehovah* under the Old Testament, in that of the man Christ Jesus under the New, and *of the Holy Ghost*:—whether we view his conduct at the Council of Nice, or consider the real import and bearing of his letter to the Church of Cæsarea; his mode of commenting on the Scriptures generally, and particularly with reference to the *Divinity of the Son*, *the Divinity* and *personality of the Holy Ghost*, as found in his Commentaries and other writings generally, and particularly in his Controversy with Marcellus; or whether we examine his opinions, as sifted and condemned by Montfaucon and others, with reference to the proper Divinity of the Son; or, whether we take a similar survey of his reasoning on the Resurrection and glorification of the *real Body of our Lord*, and, by virtue of this, the glorified state of those of his true followers:—taking these things, I say, as they appear in his own writings, and attested positively by himself;—we are, I think, bound to conclude, that he was no Arian: and the same reasoning must prove that he was no semi-Arian:—that he did in no degree partake of the error of Origen, ascribed to him so positively and so groundlessly by Photius.

To this may be added the testimony of Valesius [1] a writer of no mean acquirements and judgment, strength-

[1] "De Vita et Scriptis Eusebii Cæsariensis," pp. mihi, 14, 15.

ened as it is by that of the Western Church generally, and particularly that of Gaul, which canonized Eusebius,—with the single exception of Jerome,—and confirmed by that of Popes Gelasius and Pelagius. To these, he adds that of Gelasius Bishop of Cæsarea, and of Theophilus of Alexandria; of Socrates—with whom he should have joined Theodoret,—and of Gelasius Bishop of Cyzicum. And last of all, though by no means least, our own Cave gives the same testimony; whose very valuable Life of our Author can never be read without great interest and advantage.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

Part II.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE VIEWS OF EUSEBIUS ON PROPHECY.

It will appear upon a very slight perusal of the two last Books of our following work, that the views of its Author on Prophecy are, in some important particulars, directly opposed to those generally held in the present day. And, as the views now held are usually put forth with great zeal and earnestness, as containing matter of the greatest importance to the Christian Church; many will necessarily be tempted to conclude at once, that Eusebius is in this particular entirely wrong; and that so far, his work is worse than useless. I trust all such will allow me to intreat them calmly to consider, whether it is likely Eusebius would, with the whole Christian Church of his times, and of those preceding him, err on a question so momentous as this; and on which the interests of Christianity so much then depended: whether it is probable, the views promulgated by the Apostles themselves on this question could, without any assignable cause, have undergone a revolution so great, as this takes for granted was the fact; and further, whether the writers of his, and of former times,—men confessedly of the greatest learning and piety, and who certainly had spared no pains to inform themselves as to the declarations of Holy Scripture,—could possibly have embraced, and maintained with one voice, views so directly opposed to the truth, as this state of the case necessarily supposes.

If it be supposed that progress of time necessarily brings with it progress in knowledge; it may be suggested, that, in the sciences and arts connected with civilized life, this may be fully admitted; while it may be extremely doubtful whether it can be, as to revealed truth; and

especially, as inspired Interpreters of this lived so near to the times of which we are now speaking. Add to this the fact, that, among modern Interpreters, there is nothing like the agreement which prevailed among the more ancient ones; that, in very many instances, the statements, grounded on their views of prophecy, have proved utterly false: in others, the results arrived at have given rise to theories and practices the most ludicrous; and that in all, no principle of interpretation more solid than that which rests on *resemblances*, has either been proposed or contended for: and accordingly, what was once "*the more sure word of prophecy*," has been made *the most unsure:* and I think it will appear, that there is quite as much reason for supposing the present speculations on this subject to be erroneous, as there is that those of our Author's times are unworthy of regard. I will say for myself, I have,—I trust with the sincerest regard to truth, unembarrassed with any desire for novelty, or to oppose the favourite views of any man,—long suspected the soundness of the principles on which these modern views have been founded, and for some years past have felt convinced, that the more ancient ones are much nearer the truth: their results much more accordant with the general tenor of Scripture, and tending to throw a much greater light on the declarations of both Testaments. I now proceed therefore, to lay before the reader a mere outline, — and nothing further can be expected here,—which will, I trust, be found to rest on principles of interpretation more solid than those just now adverted to, and calculated to bring the Old and New Testament into a much more intimate connection, than they can otherwise be made to stand: and hence to justify the views advanced by our Author in the work before us.

Section I.

On the period termed by Eusebuis "the Time of the End."

We have in Sects. 28, 36. of our Fourth Book, express mention of the "*time of the end*," intimately connected with our Author's proofs of the fulfilment of prophecy in the erection of the Christian Church. In neither of these places indeed, is he particularly clear, as to the precise

period meant; but, as his arguments rest on the fact, (real or supposed) that the Gospel had then been "*preached in all nations*," the natural inference is, that he supposed the "*time of the End*" had then come. I have shewn this, and added a few remarks on the subject generally, in a note on the latter place (p. 282). Let us now inquire how this matter stands in Holy Scripture.

The question now before us is, Whether a *period* or *End* is actually fixed in Holy Scripture, with reference to the things of Christ and His Church, unconnected with every consideration about the dissolution of all things, commonly termed *the End of the world.* We will commence this inquiry with those declarations, which appear to be the most obvious and definite, and then pass on to those which seem less so, by means of their connection with these, and with one another.

Our Lord says then, generally as I conceive, "*The things concerning me have* AN END" (Luke xxii. 37). In this case, He was to be numbered with the transgressors. This was soon to be done and finished. Upon the Disciples asking Him, in another place (Matt. xxiv. 3. seq.) "*When shall these things be? and what the sign of thy coming, and of the End of the world*[1]*?* The answer is, "*Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars,*"..."*all these things must come to pass, but* THE END IS NOT YET." And again, (ver. 14) as cited by our Author, "*This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall* THE END COME." We are also told (ib. ver. 8), that the troubles then spoken of are

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[1] Gr. "τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος." Not necessarily signifying the end of the material world; and, if Christ's coming (τῆς σῆς παρουσίας) is to be connected with this, as the context here implies, it is obvious that the then existing generation should not pass, until this had commenced at least (ver. 34, &c.); and, as Theodotion uses this term (Dan. xii. 13. where we have εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας) to imply the period elsewhere spoken of as *the End* of the system to be done away, and to be *succeeded by another;* it is certain, the end of the material world cannot here be meant. This place has, "*till all these things be fulfilled;*" which is erroneous. The verb in the original is "γένηται," *be, become,* or the like.

"the BEGINNING *of sorrows:*" and again, (ib. ver. 15), these predictions are connected with one or more of those given by Daniel the Prophet: whence it should seem, that all has respect to the same events and times.

Again, in Mark xiii. 4. the question of the Disciples is, "*When shall these things be? and What the sign when all these things* SHALL BE FULFILLED? We have here no mention of "*the end of the world,*" but only of the time "*when all these things shall be fulfilled;*" given probably as equivalent to that of "*the end of the world*[2]," mentioned by St. Matthew. And again, (ver. 7.) as before, "*the* END *shall not be yet*[3]:" and, in the next verse: "*these are the* BEGINNINGS *of sorrows.*" And (ver. 13.) "*He that shall endure to* THE END, *the same shall be saved.*" And then the prophecy of Daniel is, as before pointed out, intimating its connection with these things. Again (Luke xxi. 9), as before, "*The* END *is not by and by.*" And (in ver. 22.) it is said, "*These be the days of vengeance, that* ALL THINGS WHICH ARE WRITTEN MAY BE FULFILLED[4]" (in them): that is, as I understand it, that the *accomplishment* and *end* of all things written may arrive and come. A very large number of instances occurs elsewhere to the same effect; we shall presently notice some of these. From all which it must, I think be evident, both that a *Beginning*, and an *End*, of all *the troubles* here mentioned, is distinctly pointed out and affirmed; and, more generally, *the days in which all those other things foretold by the Prophets, should also be accomplished, and come to their destined end.*

Let us now inquire, whether both of these periods are so fixed and determined, as not to admit of being carried farther in any direction. Of the *Beginnings* of these troubles, there can perhaps be no doubt, connected as they

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[2] And in the verb corresponding to συντέλεια, noted above, in συντελεῖσθαι.

[3] Gr. "ἀλλ' οὔπω τὸ τέλος:" so v. 13, and Luke, xxi. 9.

[4] Gr. "τοῦ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμένα." Lit. *Of all things written being fulfilled;* i. e. for the fulfilment of all things written in the Scriptures. Eusebius tells us occasionally, in his Commentary on the Psalms, where the terms τὸ τέλος occur, that this intimates this *time of the End.*

are with the pestilences, earthquakes, persecutions of the Disciples, the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, coupled with the declaration, that the generation *then existing* should not pass away until they *should be* (in progress[1]; Mark, xiii. 30), with the fall of the Temple (Luke xxi. 5, 6), the investiture of Jerusalem by *the Roman army* (ib. ver. 21), the captivity of the Jews (ib. ver. 24. comp. vv. 28, 29—31), and all those other remarkable events which so soon, and so exactly corresponding with these predictions, actually took place for the first, and necessarily for the last, time. The period of *these Beginnings* is therefore, too particularly defined to admit of doubt as to when it was.

To determine the period of the END, will require a more extended investigation; which, as it will involve more particulars of *equally certain occurrence*, will therefore lead us to a conclusion equally sure and certain. It will be seen, from what has already been cited,—and as noticed by Eusebius,—that, *when* (i.e. not before) *the Gospel of the kingdom should have been* PREACHED IN ALL THE WORLD, *for a* WITNESS UNTO ALL NATIONS, THE END *should come.* (Matt. xxiv. 14, &c). We may remark here; first, that the Gospel was *to be so preached;* and, secondly, that this was to be done for the purpose of affording *a Testimony* to all nations. Let us now see, what means we have in our hands for determining *its period*, and *extreme limit.*

It has been remarked above that our Lord has, in uttering his prediction (Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Luke xxi. 20), referred to the Prophet Daniel as having made predictions to the same effect; and, from the manner in which this reference is made, ("*whoso readeth, let him understand,*") particular stress seems to be laid upon the declarations of this Prophet. The passages more immediately

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[1] Matt. xxiv. 34. Mark xiii. 30. Luke xxi. 32. See the note above on the term γένηται. A passage to the same effect occurs (Matt. xvi. 28.) "*There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom;*" and again (John xxi. 21), "*If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*" all intended, no doubt, to fix and determine the period here had in view. Let this be remembered.

had in view are, perhaps, chapp. ix. 23, 27; xii. 11. But, as these are only parts of a more extended system of predictions on this subject, it will be best, first to consider the whole of this generally; and secondly, more in detail.

The first place in which this question is touched upon is, Daniel ii. 28—36; where the dream of the King is said to comprehend "*what should be in the latter days*[2];" by which last expression we are to understand, as we shall presently see, the period of *the end* generally; the beginning of a certain part of which has already been brought before us. Now, the interpretation given of this dream by Daniel goes on to shew, that *Three* kingdoms or dynasties shall succeed that of Nebuchadnezzar, each of which shall successively fall and give place to another; and that a *Fifth* shall be raised, which shall have *no end.* That these kingdoms, designated the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, I need not now perhaps stop to inquire, both, because this is generally allowed, and because we

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[2] This usage is much older than the times of Daniel: it occurs for the first time in Gen. xlix. 1. "*That I may tell you what shall befall you in* THE LAST DAYS." Where (ver. 10) we have the remarkable prophecy of the coming of our Lord, and of the gathering of the people to Him, &c. The next place is Numb. xxiv. 14: "*I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people* IN THE LATTER DAYS." Where, (ver. 17) we have the prediction of *a Star that should come out of Jacob*...(19) "*Out of Jacob shall come He that shall have the dominion*," &c., perfectly equivalent to the place in Genesis. The next place is Job xix. 25, where *the Redeemer who should stand at* THE LATTER DAY *upon the earth*, is the subject-matter of the discourse. In these cases, as in those occurring in the Prophets, respect is had to the period generally, in which the peculiar privileges of the Jews should cease, and all nations should partake in the blessings to be derived from the promised seed of Abraham. (Gen. xviii. 15; xxii. 18, &c.) "IN HIS DAYS *shall the righteous flourish*," &c. (Ps. lxxii. 7) is another intimation of the same period, as is "*Thy times.*" Is. xxxiii. 6: "*The last days*," (ib. ii. 2.) Micah iv. 1, &c., all of which mark, more or less distinctly, the times of our Lord's ministry, and those immediately succeeding; but less definitely than in Daniel, particularly chap. ix. 27. It is not meant however, to assert that the phrase "*last day*," or the like, must necessarily refer to this period. In John vi. 44, 54, for example, it relates to a totally different one. All that is intended to be affirmed is, that, by phrases similar to this, the time of *the end*, in the sense above given, is often pointed out, which the context will always be sufficient to determine.

shall presently come to matter, sufficient to determine this point beyond all possible doubt. I need only remark here, that, as these *Four* kingdoms were to fall in succession, and a *Fifth* was then to be raised which should *never fall*, *the latter days* noticed above, as intimating generally the time of *the End* mentioned by our Lord, must necessarily mean the period, in which the last of these *Four* should *come to an end;* the last, or *Fifth*, *never coming to an end* in the language of prophecy, can, in that language, have *no latter days*[1]. This period must therefore, be limited to the time of that particular event, and cannot be extended to any other, falling either short of it, or beyond it.

In the viith chapter of Daniel this subject is resumed, and—as it might be expected,—is treated in a manner much more specific than in the last case. I shall now give only the general outline as before, reserving what is more particular for future consideration. Here then, the Four Monarchies, pointed out in the last vision, are designated by *Four Beasts.* The last of these is slain, *his body is destroyed and given to the burning flame* (v. 11); and then, as before, a *Fifth Dominion* is set up, which is given to one like *the Son of Man coming in the clouds;* and this is, as before, to be both an everlasting and an universal Dominion (ver. 14). An interpretation is then given, determining these *Four Beasts* to be four Kings[2]; and also, that the Saints of the Most High shall next take the kingdom, and possess it for ever (vv. 16, 18). We are then instructed, that some constituent part of this *last* system of Rule, shall make war against the Saints and shall prevail, until the Ancient of days shall give judgment in their favour; and that these shall then possess the kingdom. And, a little lower down (v. 26), the judgment is again said to sit, and to take away this last portion of the Fourth kingdom, and to de-

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[1] So in the case of Melchisedec (Heb. vii. 3. seq.), "without father, without mother," &c., can only mean that no father, mother, &c., are found recorded of him in the Scriptures.

[2] As *King* in the Heb. and Chald. properly signifies *Rule.* See my Hebrew Lexicon under מלך, we need not be surprised in finding it here used in this sense.

stroy it unto the (extreme period of) *the End.* It is also repeated, that the Saints shall now possess the kingdom, and that this kingdom shall be both universal and everlasting. And the next verse (28) tells us, that "*hitherto is* THE END OF THE MATTER," which I understand to mean, the *close and final period of every thing referred to in this vision.*

In the viiith chapter of this same Prophet, we have another vision to the same effect; and, in some respects, more specific than either of the preceding ones. We shall, as before, now take the general statements of this only. In the first place then, a Ram is seen standing by the river Ulai, which becomes fearfully great. A He goat is then said to fly, as it were, over the earth and to come in contact with him, and to overcome him. This He goat is then said to become irresistible; but, that in the zenith of his power he shall fall, and his Rule be divided among Four others. To these shall succeed another Power, which shall take away the daily sacrifice, and *cast down the place of the sanctuary.* From this last declaration, it must be evident that the *Roman Power* is had in view; no other having ever done this. In this latter vision therefore, the Babylonian empire is not included; which is also evident from the interpretation given below (ver. 20, seq.), where we learn, that the Ram designated the Medo-Persian empire, the He goat, the King of Grecia (Alexander the Great); the four succeeding kingdoms, those of his Generals; and the third and last, as before, *the Roman.* So far, this vision points out events essentially the same with those of the two preceding ones; and, what is very important to our main inquiry here, it also tells us (ver. 19), that the Angel shewed to the Prophet what should be in the *latter time* of their kingdom (ver. 23), and also (ver. 19), in the LAST END of the indignation: "for," he adds, "*at the time appointed the* END SHALL BE." Which seems to imply, that, when a certain predetermined indignation should have been poured out, and have come to *its close*, then, i. e. at that specific time, the period named THE END should come, and at no other: and this, I take to be equivalent in bearing to the expressions..."*unto the end*," and "*hitherto is the end of the matter*," noticed above. We learn here also (ver. 23), that

this vision is styled the "*Vision of the evening and the morning:*" i. e. as comprehending what may be termed *a day*, divided into these its two natural portions.

We shall, for the present, pass over the ninth chapter of this prophecy, because its declarations unfold the events of the visions hitherto considered, in a point of view differing in some respects from that had recourse to in them. In the tenth chapter, then, (ver. 14) the angelic message sent is, to make Daniel understand what shall befall his people in "*the latter days;*" by which we are probably to understand, the "*Time of the end*" generally, as noticed above.

In the eleventh chapter, we have a repetition of the last vision, with which a very large number of particulars is connected. These we shall pass over for the present, and notice the more general enouncements only. We are told here then, that Three kings should arise in Persia; to whom a Fourth should succeed, who should stir up all against the realm of Grecia. We then have a repetition of the rise of a mighty king, Alexander the Great apparently, whose kingdom should be broken, and divided towards the four winds: pointing out as before, the kingdoms of his Generals; noticed also, but more particularly, by our Author (p. 136, below). The events following, i. e. from verse 5 to verse 30, have been shewn, I think satisfactorily, to refer to what took place under Antiochus Epiphanes[1], one of the branches which arose out of the Rule of Alexander. In verse 30, *the Roman Power*[2] is, I think, again brought before us; which, as the history of those times shews, forced Antiochus to return to his own country[3], and

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[1] Sir Isaac Newton on the Prophecies of Daniel, &c. Part I. chap. xii. seq. who, however, makes no scruple to break down the limits so set to the predictions of Daniel, and recognised by our Lord; and then to expatiate, with Mede and his followers, over all the times and places which seem to suit his purpose.

[2] "For the ships of Chittim," &c., which is manifestly an echo of Numb. xxiv. 24, where this coming, and also the fall of the *Roman Power*, is clearly foretold. See Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. III. cap. v.

[3] Jerome says on this place: "Hæc plenius in Machabæorum gestis legimus: quod postquam eum de Ægypto pepulerunt Romani, indignans venerit contra testimonium sanctuarii," &c.

who then committed great outrages upon the Jews. In verse 31 we have, *the pollution of the Sanctuary* by this Power, *the taking away of the daily sacrifice*, and the setting up of "*the abomination that maketh desolate*," which has been so pointedly marked out by our Lord; and sufficiently so to shew, that this place of Daniel refers to those particular times, and to no other. Verse 33 points out to us, as it should seem, the labours of the Apostles, with the persecutions which our Lord declared should come upon them, and upon their followers: and this is carried on through verses 34 and 35, where we are further told, that it shall continue "*even to the time of the End.*" And, in the next verse, it is said that "*the king shall do according to his will, &c.... ; and shall prosper* TILL THE INDIGNATION SHALL BE ACCOMPLISHED: *for*" it is added, "*that that is determined shall be done.*" From which it should seem, some King or Power existing WITHIN THE TIMES *of the fourth*, or *Roman Dynasty*, was to arise and thus to act, even *to the time of* THE END, and until the indignation determined upon should be *completed and finished.* We have here therefore, "*the abomination of desolation*" set up, designated by our Lord as *the beginning of sorrows*, and the tribulations which were thence to take effect, "*even to the time of the End.*"

The twelfth chapter commences with the times of unheard of troubles, the period of which our Lord has also fixed. In this, the Disciples are warned to escape to the mountains; which they did, and were preserved, untouched and uninjured. The vision is then to be shut up, and the Book to be *sealed*[4], even to *the* (*general*) *time of the End*, when many should run to and fro, and knowledge should be increased. The question is then put (ver. 6), "*How long shall it be to* THE END *of these wonders?*" The answer given is, "*It shall be for a time, times, and an half*[5]." That is, as it should seem, from the time in which the abomination of desolation should be set up, to *the end* of

[4] And, at *the time of the End*, this book is unsealed by the Lion of the tribe of Judah, Rev. v. 1. seq.

[5] A similar question is put, and answered much to the same effect, Isaiah vi. 11.

these troubles, a period shall elapse which may be designated by a mystical number (yet to be explained) amounting *to three and a half.* It is added, "*When he shall have accomplished to scatter* (disperse abroad) *the power of the Holy People,* ALL THESE THINGS SHALL BE FINISHED." That is, as I understand it, *when the Saints shall have taken the kingdom,* shall have been put in possession of "*the kingdom under the whole heavens;*" in other words, when the new or *Fifth* kingdom, shall have been established by God himself; when Kings and Queens shall, in the words of Isaiah, have become the nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers of the Church; then shall all these things have come to their *destined and full completion and* END.

And, I may conclude here generally, that, from a close and accurate comparison of these several Visions, it must appear clear to demonstration, that, upon the fall of *these four kingdoms, a Fifth* should arise which should never end; that the period marked, as that in which the *fourth* of these should fall, was termed *the End, the latter days,* and the like generally: that, at a certain point of this, the *abomination of desolation* should be set up; and that, after this, *even to* THE END; in other words, to the fulfilment of every thing here had in view, troubles such as never had been, and never should hereafter be, heard of, tribulation, indignation, and wrath, should take place: and that, when the (now) Mighty and Holy People, the Christian Church, should have spread and established its power, under the guidance of the Almighty miraculously granted, all these things should be *fully and finally accomplished.* These Visions are so *intimately, and indissolubly, linked together,* and are hence so obvious and plain, as to what they unfold, and have been so bound up by our Lord Himself, with the extraordinary events which were soon to follow upon His death, that no power either human or angelic, can possibly separate them, or make them apply to any other times or circumstances.

We may now turn back to the ninth chapter of this prophecy, and see how far that contributes towards laying open the same things. We are told then, in the 24th verse of this chapter generally, that "*Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish*

transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy[1], *and to anoint the most holy.*" That is, a considerable period of time is fixed and determined upon, during the lapse of which, all the particulars here mentioned shall be effected. And first, as to the people of Daniel during this period: they shall return, rebuild their city, and eventually shall experience those things, which it had been foretold should *befall them in the latter days*[2]. In other words, during this period, all the events hitherto touched upon in these Visions shall be finally accomplished: this whole period shall bring about their fulfilment. Secondly, as to the Holy City during this space of time; It shall also undergo its fate so frequently and plainly foretold, and here (ver. 27), also predicted. Thirdly, "*To finish transgression,*" &c. i.e. to make the great sacrifice for sin, whereby alone reconciliation with God can be obtained, and to bring in an everlasting system and means of righteousness, in the never-ending and spiritual kingdom thence to be set up. Fourthly, to bring to a fulfilment and close, *all the things* which had been foretold of Christ, under the Old Testament (Luke xxi. 22), either by *Vision* or *Prophecy.* And Fifthly; to anoint or consecrate with the Holy Ghost, the Holy of Holies[3] now to be set up; and, under His ministration, to continue the work of grace during the ages of this everlasting kingdom. This therefore lays down, generally, the period during which ALL these particulars shall fully come to pass.

We next have a recital of particulars, which are then to succeed; to each of these a period is also assigned; each containing some portion or other of these *Seventy weeks*[4].

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[1] That is *Vision* and *Prophecy* generally: the Hebrew having no definite article here. So the Greek.

[2] As noticed above, p. cv.

[3] The terms קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים signifying literally, *the Holy of Holies;* but, as provision is here made for the fall of the old one; so also is there for the consecration of the new one or Christian Church, which was effected on the day of Pentecost. Acts ii.

[4] This I take to represent a certain indefinite period, (*seventy, seven,* &c.,

First, from the time of the Edict to build and to restore Jerusalem, unto the Messiah, 69 of these weeks are to elapse; and again, after the lapse of 62 weeks, that is, after that of these, with 7 others added to them, making as before 69 weeks, the Messiah is to *be cut off*. The people of the *then ruling Power*, the Prince, or the *Fourth* Dynasty according to the former Visions, i.e. *the Romans*, are next to come and to destroy both the city and the sanctuary; *the End* of which things is to be, as an overwhelming flood, not unlike that of Noah, (Matth. xxiv. 37. 1 Pet. iii. 20) and *even to the End* of this warfare, desolations; i.e. the indignation, unheard of troubles, and the like, already mentioned are, we are told, determined. This is generally stated. In the next verse, the particulars, with their immediate and determined periods, are given.

We are here informed then, that "*He shall confirm the covenant with* (*the*) *many* (for, or during) *one week: and, in the midst*[1] *of the week, He shall cause sacrifice and*

&c., being occasionally so used) to be determined by the events here foretold, and which the language of inspiration should also certify. The usual mode of reckoning this period, taking these weeks to be weeks of years, and the whole amounting to 490 years,—which is very ancient,—must, after a moment's consideration, appear utterly inapplicable to this place. For first, from the issuing of the edict by Cyrus, to return and to rebuild Jerusalem, could not be much less than 550 years, before any of these events took place. But, suppose it could be made to quadrate, either with the birth, or the death of Christ; How is it to be made to take in the fall of the Temple, and the other circumstances still to take place, before the end should come? Besides, the cutting off of the Messiah is to happen in the 69th week; after which, another week is to come, and to complete the seventy; and, it is in this last week that the covenant is to be made with the many; in other words, the Apostles and their immediate followers are to receive the kingdom (Luke xii. 32), and the desolations determined are to be poured out. What ingenuity, I ask, can make such 490 years cover this whole period? The view, which makes 69 weeks take in the whole 490 years, which it also ascribes to the whole 70, must be too inconsistent to bear a moment's consideration; as must its attendant one, which carries this last week onwards to other far remote and distant times and events. If this be not "δουλεύειν τῇ ὑποθέσει," I know not what is.

[1] The term חֲצִי used here, does not necessarily signify *half*, or *middle*; but *any portion*: and it is here applied indefinitely.

oblation[2] *to cease, and, for the overspreading of abominations, He shall make it desolate, even* UNTIL THE CONSUMMATION," or END, "*and* (until) *that which is determined shall be poured out upon the Desolator*[3]."

We have already seen the events, of the first 69 of the weeks mentioned, determined; and, what is most important to our question, it is *determined that in the 69th of these the Messiah shall be cut off:* which,—as we know when that event took place,—we cannot but perceive was the period of that week's expiration. We now come to the events of the *one* (remaining) *week*, which makes up the seventy, or the whole period here had in view; and we are told, that during this *He shall confirm* (lit. magnify) *the covenant with the many:* that is, during *this latter period or week;* these *latter days*, or *time of the end*, generally, *the Gospel of the new Kingdom* shall be preached, and received by the many, in other words, throughout the world: that, at some time, within this week, *He shall forcibly bring sacrifice and oblation to an end, by destroying the Temple*, which, with the city, shall lie desolate; and this shall continue, even to the *end* which terminates *all vision and prophecy*[4]*:* and

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[2] That is *sacrifice* and *oblation* generally; the Hebrew having no definite article here; and this event must have taken place when the Temple fell, which put a forcible termination to these things.

[3] The Hebrew term used here, שֹׁמֵם, should, from its form, have an active signification; and, in chap. viii. 13, this would suit the context well; and the place would mean, *the transgression giving* (*supplying*) *a desolator*. In this case the feminine form would signify *woman*, or *thing*, either, *evincing* or *making desolation*. In this acceptation the *End* or *consummation* here, is that which is determined shall fall on that (Power) which *maketh desolate;* which is in strict accordance with the concluding portions of all these visions.

[4] And hence we are told, (Luke xxi. 34.) that Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times *of the Gentiles be fulfilled:* i. e. until the period has arrived, in which it is determined *that heathenism shall fall in this last dynasty*. Comp. Rom. xi. 25. In Rev. xi. 3, we are told that this shall continue *for* 42 *months*, i. e. 3½ years, the half of 7, or period of this last prophetical week. This is necessarily the last half, which (ib. vrr. 9, 11) is said to be 3½ days. Again, (chap. xiii. 5) the power of this beast is to continue 42 months, and then he is to fall; i. e. his time is now fulfilled. Vision and prophecy therefore, leave Jerusalem in this state, promising no restoration whatever.

also, until the ruin determined shall fall upon the Power which has here acted the part of *Desolator*, who, living in the latter times of the *fourth kingdom*, should make war on the Saints and prosper wondrously, until he should be cut off by the judgment of the Almighty, and his body be given to *the devouring flame.*

The predictions therefore, contained in this ninth chapter, although differing in certain particulars from the preceding ones, do foretell the same events: the chief difference is, that they arrange these under a more specific determination of time: reserving to its *last period* all the particulars relating to the establishment of the Christian Church; and this last period, it considers under the figure of *a week.* It then proceeds to divide this into two periods; the one preceding the fall of the Temple and City; the other, that which extends from that event, to the extreme period termed *the End:* when, as shewn above, *all these things shall be finished.*

If then, we consider this whole *Week* as thus divided; the first portion will be that, in which the preaching of the Apostles took place; and will designate *the commencement* of the whole period styled, "*the latter days*," "*last times*," "*days*," &c.; the last, that during which the fall of Jerusalem, and the persecutions of the Church were effected. These persecutions too, were to be set on foot by the *Fourth* or *Roman Dynasty*, as foretold in all the preceding visions; and these our Lord himself also pointed out, for the accomplishment at once of all the troubles which He foretold, especially noticing by the way, the predictions of Daniel, and generally, those of all the Prophets as foretold respecting Himself.

If then, we may consider this period as constituting *a week;* we may each of these its portions as its *one half:* and we may then speak of either of them under the terms, "*time, times, and a half:*" "*time, times, and the dividing of time:*" or "*three days and a half*[1];" or, if we view the whole, as "*a week of years;*" (i. e. seven years;) then, three years and a half, or, in other words, "*Forty two months*,"

[1] Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7. Rev. xi. 9, 3½ days. it. ver. 11; see ver. 13.

or "*Twelve hundred and sixty days*," or any other number of days amounting nearly to the same sum[2]. But, if we consider the whole as constituting *a Day*[3], then these portions may be designated by the terms "*the Evening and the Morning*: if by a year, then "*Summer and Winter*" will mark its portions: or, if we take *a thousand years* to designate any one of these portions; then, that which falls within the Apostolic times will be the first of these; the other, that in which both the Temple and City shall be destroyed, and extending itself through the whole of the times of the persecutions; and the same may be said, if the period of *an hour*[4] be taken to represent either of these: which, in the aggregate, will point out the whole period of

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[2] In Ezekiel xxxix. 8, 9, a period of "*seven years*" is made to designate the day of God; and ib. ver. 12, it is styled "*seven months*." Comp. ver. 13. Rev. xi. 2; xiii. 5, "*forty-two months*." Rev. xii. 6, 1260 days. Dan. xii. 11, 1290 days. St. Peter (2 Ep. iii.) referring to this period says, "*one day is with the Lord as a thousand years*." Comp. ver. 10 with the parallels; also Rev. xx. 2, when *Satan is bound*; also ib. ver. 7, he is let loose; ib. ver. 10, he is cast into hell for ever.

[3] In Daniel viii. 26, the vision is termed that of *the Evening and the Morning*, which is a repetition of the two preceding ones, and therefore has respect to the same events. This *day* of the Lord is mentioned in Zech. xiv. 7, when at *Evening* time it shall *be light*; i. e. the evening commences the day in the East; this period therefore, may denote that of the Apostolic preaching; and, accordingly, the next verse tells us, *that living* waters shall in *that day* go out from Jerusalem. Comp. Ezek. xlvii. This period is here also termed "*Summer and Winter*" (Zech. xiv. 8.), evidently identical with the preceding. That by *the day of the Lord* is often meant this period, in many places of Scripture, it is too obvious to admit of a doubt; it is sometimes styled *that day, great and dreadful day*, and the like. Comp. Isaiah ii. 12; which ib. ver. 2, is "*the last days*;" ver. 17, "*that day*," it. ver. 20. In which context the fall of heathenism, and the kingdom of Christ are plainly foretold. See also Joel ii. 28—31, 32, with the parallel places: also 2 Pet. iii. 7—11. In the Rev. ix. 15, *an hour, a day, a month*, and *a year*, seem all, and each, to be used in the same way. Rev. xviii. 8. "*In one day*."

[4] Rev. xiv. 7, "*The hour of his judgment*;" ib. xviii. 10, "*In one hour*;" ib. vv. 17, 19; ib. xvii. 12, "*Receive power as kings one hour with the beast*." It must be evident, I say, to any one reading these passages with attention, that the same remarkable time, or period, must be meant. It should be remembered, it is not our business to determine what usages the sacred writers should have adopted: all we have to do is, to endeavour to ascertain what they meant by those which they did.

this *last of the seventy weeks* given above. It is not pretended, that these portions are to be considered mathematically or chronologically equal to one another: all that is meant is, that they should be considered generally as periods of time, to be determined as before by the events mentioned, and enounced evidently for that purpose.

Having seen then, how "*the more sure word of Prophecy*," has fixed and determined—"*as a light to our feet, and a lantern to our path*,"—the period of the cutting off of the Messiah, as also that in which the times termed "*the latter days*," "*the End*," &c., should happen, which may in the figurative language of prophecy be called *a week*, the close of which should present us with *everlasting righteousness brought in and established, Vision and Prophecy sealed*[1], and *the Most Holy anointed*[2]: that in a certain portion of this, sacrifice should terminate in the fall of the Temple and City; and that, from this period of "*the Abomination of desolation*," "*even to the*" (*extreme*) "END," desolation and indignation should be poured out, and which should eventually fall upon and destroy *the Desolator* himself:—seeing also, how all this is indissolubly connected with *the latter times*, and *fall of the Roman Empire*, whether we view it in the declarations of the Prophet, or of our Lord; we cannot doubt that we have discovered a sure clue to the truth, as it respects this interesting and most important question: and, if we find that the immediate followers of our Lord, spoke and wrote under the same views and feelings; we shall have it in our power to conclude, that the opinions held by our Author, and reasoned under in the following work, are worthy of all acceptation.

We have already seen, that the first portion of this prophetical week so divided, *necessarily* falls within the period of the Apostolical preaching: and also, from the words of our Lord, that *the* (extreme) *End* should not

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[1] Which must here signify *completed, fulfilled: sealing*, in the sense of closing up, being elsewhere determined to continue up to this period. (chap. xii. 9.)

[2] That is, the Christian Church, as shewn above.

come until the Gospel had been "*preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony to all nations.*" Now the commission with its grounds, given by our Lord to His Disciples, is, "*All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.*" *Go* YE *therefore, and* TEACH ALL NATIONS, *baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,*" (Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.) In Mark (xvi. 15) it is given in these words: "*Go* YE *into* ALL THE WORLD, *and preach the Gospel* TO EVERY CREATURE." Then follows a recital of the powers they should possess, of the signs that should accompany them, and of the saving results to those who should believe. In the Acts of the Apostles (chap. i. 8), our Lord says to His Disciples, "*Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall* BE WITNESSES UNTO ME, *both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea; and in Samaria, and* UNTO THE UTTERMOST PART OF THE EARTH." There can be no doubt perhaps, that the *Disciples themselves* were here meant; that they did receive this power from above; that the signs and wonders here mentioned, did attend their preaching; that they did so preach in Jerusalem, throughout Judea, and Samaria, and in foreign nations; and that they actually did become witnesses unto Christ, even *unto the uttermost part of the earth.*

But, if the *whole* of this was not effected by them, it may be asked; For what purpose were they so gifted? and How can they be justified, in not having endeavoured to fulfil the whole of their Lord's commands, especially when such signs and wonders were granted, and they had also received the positive promise, that Christ himself would ever be with them? The fact however appears to be, that they did so preach the Gospel every where; and also, that they succeeded to the full extent of the commission given; St. Paul himself declaring to the Colossians (chap. i. 6. 23.) that the Gospel had come to them, as it then was *in all the world*, and which *had* (then) *been preached to every creature under heaven;* and to the Romans (chap. x. 18), that "*yes verily, their*" (the Preachers') "*sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.*" To the same effect the testimony of our Author,—frequently

given in the following work,—together with that of all the primitive Fathers of the Church who have touched on this subject, may be adduced corroborative of this fact[1]. To what precise extent this was then done, it would, in the absence of the particular history of every region of the earth, be idle to inquire: it is enough for us to know, that both the word of inspired prophecy, and of the divine commission on the one hand, has been fully responded to by the inspired word of the Apostle on the other: and surely we need not doubt, that what the former meant, either in prediction or command, respectively; the latter also meant, as to the fulfilment of these: and which perhaps amounted to no more than this, viz. that the knowledge of the Lord should be carried abroad, under divine and miraculous means, as far as these should be necessary; and,—as in all other similar cases,—*no farther:* the same command and promise still lying on the Church, to use every effort both for its further propagation and perpetual maintenance. And, it may here be remarked, that after the times in which this great and good work was effected, miraculous powers were gradually withdrawn as unnecessary.

We may conceive then of the Apostles, as entered upon their work within *the first portion* of the prophetical Week cited above; and of *the many* spoken of by Daniel, running to and fro, that (divine) knowledge might be multiplied. Let us now see how they speak of these times, and whether they do, in a manner suitable to the predictions of Daniel already noticed.

The first instance that we shall fix upon, occurs early in the Apostolic preaching, viz. in the Acts (chap. ii. 16, 17.), immediately after the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost: that is, after the new Church had received its consecration in the unction of the Holy Ghost. "*This*

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[1] On this subject the "*Lux Salutaris Evangelii,*" (Hamburgi, 1731) of Fabricius will be consulted with the greatest advantage and interest: whence it will appear, that, according to the early Fathers, the Gospel was preached to the extent which both the commission of our Lord, and the predictions of the Prophets, required; and that this extended to every known part of the world.

is that," says St. Peter, "*which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass* IN THE LAST DAYS, *saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon* ALL *flesh*...(ver. 19.) *and I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath*," &c. We can have no doubt here, that the Apostle determines these *last days* generally, to be those in which he was then speaking: that he alludes to the signs and wonders, spoken of more than once by our Lord; and that the same Spirit was to be poured out upon ALL FLESH; and this also, in those *self-same last days.*

Again, the same Apostle (1 Pet. 1. 20) says, "*But (Christ) was manifest in these* LAST TIMES, *for you:*" which must mean, in Peter's own times: and again, (ib. iv. 7,) "THE END *of all things is at hand.*" So also St. John (1 John ii. 18), "*Little children it is* THE LAST TIME: *and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even* NOW *are there many Antichrists; whereby we know that* IT IS THE LAST TIME."

St. Paul again, (Heb. i. 2.) (God) "*hath in* THESE LAST DAYS *spoken unto us by his Son.*" (Ib. ix. 26.) "*Now once in* THE END OF THE WORLD *hath he appeared;*" &c. Again, (1 Cor. x. 11.)—"*They are written for our admonition, upon whom* THE ENDS OF THE WORLD *are come.*" And to this period must be referred (2 Pet. iii. 3), "*Knowing this first, that there shall come* IN THE LAST DAYS *scoffers...saying, Where is the promise of his coming*," &c. which is all grounded on the words of the Prophets, and the commandments of the Apostles. Equivalent to these are the following passages, all of which attach themselves to these times. "*When the* FULNESS OF THE TIME *was come, God sent forth his Son,* (Gal. iv. 4.)..."*In the dispensation of* THE FULNESS OF TIMES, *he might gather together in one* ALL THINGS *in Christ.* (Eph. i. 10.) "*The* TIMES OF REFRESHING *shall come from the presence of the Lord....Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken of by...all his holy Prophets since the world began.*" (Acts iii. 19. 21.) And again, (ib. ver. 24,) "*Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold* OF THESE DAYS."

To which a very large number of parallel places might be added.

It should be borne in mind, that throughout the times of the preaching of the Apostles, there was generally neither opposition, nor persecution, presented to them by the Heathen. Wherever any thing of this kind happened, it originated with the Jews; whose inveteracy ended only with their loss of all power to give it effect. The Heathen, on the contrary, now enjoying a general peace; and governed by Emperors, many of whom felt no concern in opposing Christianity, afforded one of the best means—as our Author has well remarked[1],—for its extension and establishment. Our Lord himself had moreover, assured the Disciples, that *all the power of the Enemy should be subject to them*[2], which Eusebius has also very properly noticed. And, if this period may be termed "*the day of the Lord*, consisting of an "*Evening and Morning*," or, be said to be equivalent to "*a Thousand years*," in the language of

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[1] Our work below, pp. 155—6, seq. Lactantius tells us moreover, that even after the general persecution had begun under Domitian, the Church greatly extended itself under several mild emperors who followed. "Rescissis igitur actis Tyranni (i. e. Domitiani), non modo in statum pristinum Ecclesia restituta est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius enituit; secutisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt...manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrexit, *ut jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus quo non religio Dei penetrasset.*" De Mort. Persecutorum, III.

[2] Luke x. 17—25, ib. 18, "*I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.*" Comp. John xii. 31; xvi. 11. Rev. xii. 9, 10. After this, ver. 12, seq. he commences the persecutions; but the Woman, i. e. the Church, is preserved during these times in safety; i. e. for *a time, times, and a half;* i. e. 3½ days, or during the first portion of our prophetical week. Comp. Mark xvi. 17, 18; and Matth. xii. 29. In Rev. xx. 2: The Dragon, the old Serpent, the Devil, *is bound for a thousand years:* after the expiration of which, he is to be let loose for a season. From ver. 4 to 7, *the Saints reign with Christ a thousand years,* i. e. during the period in which *Satan is bound.* This period is therefore, that of *the Apostolical Millennium,* and it is termed *a thousand years* for the reasons assigned above. See also my Exposition, p. 339, &c. At ver. 7, this period being expired, Satan is let loose to make war on the Saints. (ver 8, 9). After this his body is given to "*the burning flame;*" and then *the new heaven and new earth descend from above.* This period is therefore fixed.

prophecy; it will be no extravagant thing to affirm, that this must have been the period, during which Satan should "*be bound for a thousand years:*" and therefore, *the Evangelical millennium of the Apocalypse.* According to Lactantius, the period of the Apostolic preaching extended through about five and twenty years; after this, the work of evangelizing the Heathen must have been vigorously carried on by their successors.

It should also be observed here, that, as throughout the period of the Apostolic preaching a strong expectation was expressed, in strict conformity with our Lord's enouncements, that another state of things should *shortly*[3] exist, in which there should be a falling away among Believers, the Abomination of desolation should be set up, and the Man of sin should be revealed, whom the Lord should destroy with the spirit of His mouth[4]; and that, as this was to be in progress at least, during that very generation; we may now conclude, that this was the period generally, in which *all the power of the Enemy was, as our Lord had promised, bound:* and during which, the Disciples did become *witnesses to Christ both in Jerusalem, and in all nations,* actually preaching *the Gospel to every creature,* as far as it was necessary miraculous powers should be employed to do this; and, that this was the period foretold by Daniel, in which many should run to and fro, and knowledge be multiplied; which synchronizes accurately with the first portion of Daniel's seventieth week, already adverted to.

Let us now approach more particularly, the events predicted for the latter period of this prophetical Week,—those of the first having been touched upon—as referred to by the writers of the New Testament: and, if we find these all falling in with this last particular period; our conclusion will be as well grounded, as it can be desired it should be, that these were the days in which *all*

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[3] From the prediction, that "*this generation shall not pass,*" &c., and "*There be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power,*" Mark ix. 1. Matth. xvi. 28...*the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.*" See also Luke ix. 27.

[4] 2 Thess. ii. 8: presently to be noticed more particularly.

things spoken by the Prophets respecting Christ should be fulfilled.

The most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, (chap. ii. ver. 2—11). It is evident from the context here, that a report had got abroad among the Thessalonians that *the day of Christ*, foretold in His memorable discourse with the Disciples (Matt. xxiv. 32—40, &c.) was very soon to arrive. The Apostle does not deny that this shall be the case, but warns them,—according to the tenor of that discourse,—that the signs to be taken, as intimations of the Lord's coming, had not yet appeared. "*Let no man deceive you*," says He, "*by any means: for* (that day shall not come,) *except there come a falling away*" (read, *the falling away*, i. e. as predicted) "*first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God*"..." *And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth*" (will let), "*until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord* SHALL CONSUME WITH THE SPIRIT OF HIS MOUTH, *and shall destroy* WITH THE BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING: *even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders*," &c.

From certain parts of this it is evident, that the Apostle had in view the discourse of our Lord, in which *this falling away* is foretold, as is also *His coming;* the things then foretold being in answer to the question, *What shall be the sign of thy coming?* The signs and wonders moreover, here adverted to by the Apostle, are there said to be such as should, "*if possible deceive even the very elect:*" to which is added, "*As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be:*" and then again,..."*After the tribulation of those days...then shall appear* THE SIGN *of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall* SEE THE SON OF MAN COMING IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN

WITH POWER AND GREAT GLORY[1]." And again, in the same context, "*Verily I say unto you*, THIS GENERATION SHALL NOT PASS *till all these things be*," (i. e. in progress). It has already been observed that, in this Discourse, the Prophecy of Daniel is particularly recommended for investigation: and it is evident, from this last place, that *the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven*, as mentioned by Daniel, is had in view.

We have seen generally, that the fall of the *Fourth* empire of Daniel, that is *the Roman*, was to precede the erection of the *Fifth* kingdom, which was to be that of the Saints: and that all the Visions of Daniel conspired in pointing this out, and thence in marking the period in which this should certainly come to pass. Let us now turn again to Daniel, and see, whether the more particular enouncements of that Prophet, conspire in declaring the same thing.

In the first of these Visions (chap. ii. 28. 35. seq.) we learn that "*in the latter days*"...the image of iron, clay, brass, silver, and gold, should be struck on the feet and broken to pieces, by a stone cut out of the mountain without hands; and that this stone should grow into a great mountain, and fill the whole earth. Which is thus explained, in verse 42. seq. "*As the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken.*" And it is added, ver. 44. "*In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed...it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*" It should seem here, that as the feet were to be taken as representing this *last kingdom* generally, so were the toes perhaps to designate the *Ten kings*, mentioned in one of the other visions. These ten kings must therefore fall, before this last kingdom could be set up: and these *can possibly represent no other Powers*, except those of the latter period of the Roman Empire.

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[1] The coming in the clouds is, in the Old Testament, generally accompanied with great terrors and tribulations: comp. Isaiah v. 30; viii. 22, seq.; ix. 1, 18, seq. evidently relating to these times. Also Ps. xviii. xxix. and civ. Such was the revelation of Christ on Sinai, Deut. iv. 11. seq. Joel ii. 2, seq.; ib. ver. 30, seq.

In the seventh chapter, we have the particulars of the latter part of the Fourth kingdom specified, with still greater precision; and here again, the termination of these is followed by the establishment of the same everlasting, and universal dominion, as already noticed. Let us endeavour to see what these particulars mean. In ver. 7, we are told that the *Fourth Beast*, or Dynasty, had "*Ten horns*:" it is added (ver. 8), "*I considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things* (ver. 11),..." *I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even* TILL THE BEAST WAS SLAIN, *and* HIS BODY DESTROYED, *and* GIVEN TO THE BURNING FLAME."

It should be observed, that it is not merely this horn which is destroyed, but *the beast* and *his whole body* is given to *the burning flame*. By the *beast* and *his body* therefore, must be meant, *the Dynasty*, not merely some *constituent part* of it. And we are told accordingly (ver. 23), that "the *Fourth beast* is the fourth kingdom, or Dynasty: and (ver. 24), that the "*ten horns out of this kingdom, are ten kings that shall arise, and* (that) *another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and shall subdue three kings. And* (ver. 25), *he shall speak* (*great*) *words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws; and they* (the saints) *shall be given into his hand* UNTIL A TIME, AND TIMES, AND THE DIVIDING OF TIME. *But*," it is added, "*the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it* UNTO THE END." Then, as before, the kingdom under the whole heavens is given to the Saints, and, it is added, "*Hitherto is* THE END OF THE MATTER." Enouncements equivalent to these, are also given in the eighth chapter (ver. 23, seq). "*In the* LATTER TIMES *of their kingdom, when transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy* THE MIGHTY AND HOLY PEOPLE, *and*

through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall he destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall BE BROKEN WITHOUT HAND." It is added, "*The Vision of the* EVENING AND MORNING *is true.*"

It must be obvious I think, that the same particulars are had in view in each of these Visions: that in the first, "*the latter days,*" (chap. ii. 28,) must synchronize with "*the end,*" (chap. vii. 26,) which (ib. ver. 25) closes with that styled, "*a time, times and the dividing of time:*" and thus again, (chap. viii. 19,) with that termed, "*the time appointed,* THE END: and (ib. ver. 26,) that of *the evening and morning;* and particularly with the portion designated by the latter term used here[1]. The Horn's making war with the Saints and prevailing against them, (chap. vii. 21), followed as it is with destruction from the Almighty, *even to the time of the end*, seems to me to identify itself, beyond all doubt, with the king's here destroying the mighty and the holy people, and prospering until he is broken without (human) hand (or power): His *speaking great words*, too (chap. vii. 25), seems to identify itself with, "*He shall magnify himself in his heart,*" here: all which is terminated by styling the Vision that of *the Evening and Morning.*

In chapter xi. these particulars are again taken up, and dwelt upon still more minutely. After learning from verse 30, that *ships shall come from Chittim,*—which must here mean from the West,—we are informed that this power shall *pollute the sanctuary, take away the daily sacrifice, and place the abomination that maketh desolate*[2], as noticed above. Then, after being told (ib. ver. 35), that "*some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white,* EVEN TO THE TIME OF THE END,"—in strict accordance with the prediction, that

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[1] These terms must therefore, necessarily designate the same period: and here, that last portion of Daniel's seventieth week.

[2] Shewing plainly enough that this does not refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, who did not make, or cause, a desolation of the Sanctuary; besides, our Lord's directing us to its fulfilment, after his times, ought to satisfy all doubt on this point.

war should be made against the Saints; that this power should wear them out, and prosper, even during the period of *a time, times, and the dividing of time,*—a particular description is given of this Power, thus (ver. 36): "*The king shall do according to his will; and shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper* TILL THE INDIGNATION BE ACCOMPLISHED: *for that that is determined shall be done,*" (completed). *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women*[1], *nor regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain,*" &c. And we are again told (chap. xii. 6, 7.), that these wonders shall continue, "*for a time, times, and a half;*" and that, "*when He shall have accomplished to scatter* (*abroad,*) *the power of the Holy People,* ALL THESE THINGS SHALL BE FINISHED." That all the particulars of each of these Visions must synchronize, it must be too obvious to admit of a moment's doubt: as it also must, that the establishment of the Christian Church on earth, immediately upon the fall of the *Roman Heathen Dynasty*, presents us with the period, at which they all were to be completed.

Let us now endeavour to identify, as far as the nature of the case will allow us, the persons here designated under the figure of *Horns:* a term usually applied in the Scriptures to imply strength. The *Beast* itself is, as already shewn, put to represent the *Heathen Dynasty of Rome;* the *Horns* certain powers, arising within it. These *horns* we are told are *ten*, after which *another*, unlike the preceding ones, shall arise and make war on the

[1] This, occurring as it does in context speaking of Deities, was probably intended to designate the Messiah, who was the desire of women, as it should seem, among the ancient Hebrews.

Saints: and here that Dynasty is to terminate. By these *ten Horns* appears to be intended, a succession of persecuting Emperors amounting to this number; after which another Persecutor, *small*, as compared with the foregoing ones, should arise; who, as far as his power should extend, should combine within himself all that was vicious in the preceding ten. It is also said, that before this Persecutor three others should fall, or be subdued: which has probably been said, for the purpose of enabling us to ascertain who the actors were to be in this tragedy, and how, and when, this matter was to terminate.

If then, we suppose that the Emperors, who were persecutors, were here had in view:—and it would be absurd to suppose that those, who were not persecutors, would be so recounted;—and, if we suppose that the 1st, was Domitian[2]; the 2nd, Decius; the 3rd, Valerian; the 4th, Aurelian; the 5th, Diocletian; and, in his persecuting colleagues, the 6th, Maximian (Herculius); the 7th Galerius; the 8th, Severus; the 9th, Maximinus; the 10th, Maxentius; and the 11th, and last, Licinius; we shall have both the number, and the characters of the Horns or Persecutors, as given in these several visions.

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[2] Nero was in fact the first persecutor, for both Peter and Paul suffered at Rome, according to Lactantius, under him; but, as his persecution was apparently confined to Rome, he can hardly be reckoned among the general persecutors of the Church. Besides, St. Paul himself seems to have considered his taking away necessary to the appearance of the Antichrist, (2 Thess. ii. 7, seq.) which, we shall presently shew belongs exclusively to this period. Allowing this, therefore, Domitian will be the first persecutor.

The persecuting Emperors are however, variously numbered by the different historians, as may be seen in the *Lux Salutaris* of Fabricius, already referred to. On the particular application of these prophecies there may therefore, be difference of opinion; but this cannot affect the main question,—viz. that these Persecutors are the *Kings*, or *Horns*, mentioned by Daniel; the circumstances of the case make it impossible to substitute any other power or powers for them: their time of rule, and of fall, is too exactly fixed by facts, to admit of any others taking their office. All I pretend to do here is, to give the best explanation that has occurred to me, of the particulars connected with these Horns; and I have given the order and names of the Persecutors generally, after Lactantius.

We have (Dan. vii. 25.) a particular, which will afford us some assistance in this question. It is said that the Saints shall be given into this king's hands, during the period termed "*a time, times, and the dividing of time:*" that is, during *the whole period* elsewhere assigned to the war to be carried on against the Saints. Again, (chap. viii. 25,) this persecutor is said to be a king of fierce countenance; and again (chap. xi. 36), The king, it is said, shall do according to his will: and (in chap xii. 7) this is to continue as before, for "*a time, times, and a half.*" Which seems to speak of the whole work of persecution, as if placed in the hands of *one Persecutor:* or, in other words, to speak of these in the aggregate under the person of one only.

If then we may consider these Persecutors, as all comprehended under one general description of character, or, it may be, under a description, summing up the whole of what they all were—otherwise we shall have no description whatever of them[1]; we may now inquire, how far that given by the Prophet will correspond with that, which is given of the persecuting Roman Emperors above mentioned, and whether this will agree with that, of St. Paul's "*Man of sin*" already adverted to. The first character is, that *this Dynasty*, or *Beast*, should be diverse (Dan. vii. 7, &c.) from all that had preceded it. This consisted, among other things, in the fact, that it persecuted a

[1] This usage is common enough in the Hebrew Bible, by which something affirmed of *the Whole*, is applied also distributively to each of the individuals composing it: e. g. "*As for man, his days are as grass,*" which is equivalent to, As for men, the days of each and every of them is but as grass. A very remarkable instance of this sort is Job xl. 15, "*Behold now the beasts...each eating grass like the ox,*" which has been made to say, "*Behold now Behemoth,*" &c., thus creating by one slight grammatical error, an enormous nondescript animal! See my Translation and Commentary. The book of the Revelation too, speaking of these, as we shall presently shew, says (chap. xvii. 13), "*These have* ONE MIND, *and shall give their power and strength to the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb,*" &c. Gr. οὗτοι μίαν γνώμην ἔχουσι," κ. τ. λ. and Lactantius, speaking of Diocletian and Maximianus, says: "Nec enim possent in amicitia tam fideli cohærere nisi esset in utroque *mens una, eadem cogitatio, par voluntas, æqua sententia.*" (Mort. Persecut. VIII.) Which surely may be said of them all.

very large portion of its own subjects, purely on account of their religious belief.

It had in the next place *a little Horn*, which grew up among, and (ver. 24) after, the *ten* others: and this, according to our arrangement above, was Licinius. He was the last in order, and before him,—affected in one way or other by his politics,—*three* of the other Persecutors fell (ver. 8. 20. 24). He was too, to be *diverse* from the first persecutors (ver. 24). According to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. viii.) he made *new laws* of a most oppressive character; abrogated the ancient ones relating to marriage, death, &c.; gave the wives of incarcerated nobles, as well as virgins, to be abused by his menials; invented *new modes* of slaughter, torture, &c. According to Aurelius Victor, he was an enemy to letters, and particularly to all learning of a forensic nature; and was immoderately avaricious. He was diverse also, as being *a little Horn* or *power*, unable to carry the persecution beyond the limits of his own particular rule, because he was associated with Constantine in the empire.

Taking then these characters in the aggregate, i. e. the whole, described as existing in one person (Dan. vii. 25, &c.) "*he shall speak great words against the most High*," &c. as cited above, (p. cxxiv.) also chap viii. 23: ix. 32. Let us now see, how far the description given of these heathen Roman persecutors, will agree with all this.

Our first Horn, King, or Persecutor, Domitian, is thus described by the historians. Suetonius (Lib. xii.) says of him: "Bona vivorum et mortuorum usquequaque, quolibet et accusatore et crimine corripiebantur: satis erat objici qualecumque factum dictumque adversum majestatem principis. Confiscebantur alienissimæ hereditates: vel existente uno qui diceret, audisse se ex defuncto, cum viveret, heredem sibi Cæsarem esse." And again, "Pari arrogantia cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistolam, sic cœpit: *Dominus et Deus noster sic fieri jubet*"..." Statuas sibi in Capitolio *nonnisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit*, ac ponderis certi...Per hæc terribilis cunctis et invisus, tandem oppressus est." So also Sextus Aurelius Victor (cap. xi), after speaking of his vices says: "Major libidinum flagitio, ac plus quam superbe utens Patribus:

quippe qui se *Dominum Deumque* dici coëgerit:" and again in his Epitome (cap. xi.) to the same effect. Similar accounts, to some extent, are given of him both by Lactantius and Eusebius, who make him the author of the Second Persecution. It is obvious therefore, that he uttered blasphemies *against the most High:* magnified himself against every thing called God: honoured a god with gold and silver, &c. whom his Fathers knew not, and this in a strong hold, the Capitol: that he destroyed the Holy People[1], and *seized upon the land*, if he did not actually divide it, for gain.

Our second Persecutor is Decius. Lactantius says of him (Mort. Persecut. iv); "Extitit enim post annos plurimos execrabile animal Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam:" he then tells us of his miserable end. We may remark, that as this writer terms the persecutor here, "*execrabile animal*," and some of the others, "*Bestiæ*" generally, it is not improbable he had the predictions of Daniel, and the passages corresponding to these in the Revelation, in his mind.

Valerian is our third Persecutor: of him Dionysius (in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. vii. cap. x.) tells us, that it had been revealed to John (Rev. xiii. 5.) that there was given to him a mouth speaking great and impious things; and. that power was given to *him forty and two months:* which Baronius explains, as marking out accurately *the three years and a half* of his reign (Notes of Valesius, ib.). Whatever Dionysius might have meant by this,—and his referring it at all to this place of the Revelation, is worthy of remark, —it is obvious enough, that the whole period of the persecutions is, as we have already shewn, marked out by this period. His persecuting the Church is then generally mentioned, with his unhappy end. Lactantius says of him generally: "Non multo post Valerianus quoque non dissimili furore correptus, impias manus *in Deum intentavit*, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit." He then mentions his miserable end.

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[1] Let it be remembered, the Jews could not now be called either "*the mighty*," or "*the holy people*." Their power was gone, as was their holiness; and God's people were now *called by a new name.* Isaiah lxii. 2.

Of Aurelian, our fourth persecutor, Lactantius says, 'Qui esset natura væsanus et præceps, quamvis captivitatis Valeriani meminisset, tamen oblitus sceleris ejus et pœnæ, iram Dei crudelibus factis lacessivit." To this he adds a short account of his early death. To the same effect, Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. xxx). He is spoken of by Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius, as Divine (*Divus*,), whence it should seem, he claimed the title *of Deity*; and as being a severe, cruel, and bloody Prince: "Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit Princeps" (ib. cap. xxxv.).

We now come to Diocletian, our fifth persecutor. He is described by Lactantius as the inventor of vices, and of every sort of evil, and as an enemy to God. He divided the empire into four parts; and so multiplied the rapes of virgins, exactions, and confiscations of every kind, for the purpose of satisfying his own lust and avarice, that the greatest distress, with an incredible scarcity, ensued: much blood was shed for the smallest offences; and in all these his vices, Maximianus (i. e. Heraclius) his colleague, cordially partook. According to Sextus Aurelius Victor (De Cæsar. cap. xxxix.), he allowed himself,—the first after Caligula and Domitian,—to be openly addressed as *Lord*, and to be addressed and worshipped as *God:* "Namque se primus omnium Caligulam post, Domitianumque, *Dominum* palam dici passus, et adorari se, appellarique uti *Deum*[2]".

Constantius and Galerius (Maximianus) were chosen for his other colleagues, each of whom received the title of *Cæsar*. But, as Constantius used the utmost clemency in his portion of the empire, which was Britain, Gaul, and Spain (having from the first given up Africa and Italy), he has not been ranked among the persecutors. In Galerius however, to whom the origin of this last persecution is

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[2] Eutropius says of him: "Diocletianus moratus callide fuit, *sagax* præterea, et *admodum subtilis ingenio*, et qui severitatem suam alienâ invidiâ vellet explere, diligentissimus tamen et solertissimus Princeps; et qui in Imperio Romano primus regiæ consuetudinis formam, magis quam Romanæ libertatis, invexit; *adorarique se jussit*, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur; ornamenta gemmarum vestibus indidit." See also Suidas sub voce Διοκλητιανός.

generally ascribed, every thing seems to have concurred, calculated to form the complete Persecutor and Tyrant. Lactantius tells us that he commenced his most insolent career, wishing to have it thought that he was *the progeny of Mars*, and another Romulus (so far *honouring the God of forces*), *as descended from the Gods*. He soon got rid of his father-in-law Diocletian, as he also did of Maximianus, the two Augusti. After this he nominated two creatures of his own, Severus and Maximinus; who, as it might be expected, concurred in following out his sanguinary measures to the utmost. In the mean time Maxentius[1], the son of Maximianus, encouraged by his misrule, assumed the Purple at Rome; which tempted his Father also to reassume his: who indeed had never cordially resigned it. Severus was sent to put down Maxentius, but fell in the attempt. Maximianus, after some attempts to destroy Constantine, also fell: upon which Galerius and Constantine named Licinius *Cæsar*. From the confusion now happening, there was at one time not fewer than six *Cæsars*, viz. *Maximianus*, *Galerius*, *Constantinus*, *Maximinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*. Maximianus and Maxentius however soon fell by the hands of Constantine[2]; the latter partly, as it should seem, by the aid of Licinius who had received the sister of Constantine in marriage, and who hence acted in concert with him.

Maximinus had, in the mean time, secretly formed an alliance with Maxentius; and, as Licinius was now in the interest of Constantine, Maximinus and he regarded each other as rivals. It appears extremely probable, that this alone prevented Maximinus from acting against Constantine in his expedition against Maxentius. It is also said, that Licinius *undertook an expedition against Galerius*[3], in the

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[1] Who, according to Eusebius and others, was greatly addicted to magic. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. ix.

[2] The latter, as Eusebius tells, not unlike the fall of Pharaoh, for he perished in the Tiber. Ib.

[3] So Pomponius Lætus Hist. compend. Lib. ii. "Sunt qui scribunt Licinium in nuptiis, ut Constantino gratificarentur, milites appellasse Imperatorem: et ab Constantino missum contra Galerium. Sed verisimilius est Imperatorem factum ab Galerio, ut simul et hostilitatis litterarum et ingratitudinis accusari posset."

service of Constantine; that Galerius sorely repented his having made Licinius *Cæsar*[4]; and also, that Licinius did eventually put to death all the children of Galerius[5]. So far I think it appears, that Licinius did contribute towards the fall of Galerius; which however was finally effected by a most loathsome disease, inflicted on him by the Almighty.

Not long after this, Maximinus[6] was vanquished by Licinius in a severe battle, fought between Heraclea and Adrianople. Three of these persecutors therefore, actually fell before Licinius, either mediately, or immediately; and so far, the word of prophecy was complied with.

A short time after this, Licinius, who had now succeeded to the sovereignty of Maximinus, succeeded also to the work of persecution which had been carried on by him[7]; and on this, and some other accounts, war was made upon him by Constantine. After three severe battles, the last of which established the sole power of Constantine, and was fought both by sea and land, just as the prophet had foretold it should be[8], Licinius fell. With this ended the last most

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[4] And, it is worthy of remark, Pomponius tells us that it was upon this very occasion, that Galerius repented of having made Licinius *Cæsar:* his words are, "In itinere quum acciperet de futura militum defectione, qui ita convenerant, si cum Maxentio conflixisset Illyriam rediit: et jam pœnitebat legisse Licinium." And Eusebius speaks o Constantine and Licinius, as engaged against Maxentius and Maximinus. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IX. cap. ix.

[5] "Nam Galerii liberos affines jure sodalitatis et consortii, interfecit" (Licinius). Pomp. Læt. ib.

[6] According to Eusebius, the immediate cause of his death was a disease inflicted by the Almighty. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IX. cap. x.

[7] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. x. cap. viii. Who tells us, that new methods of slaughter, exactions, admeasurements of the lands, and rapes of women, were also set on foot by him, for the purpose of satisfying his lust and avarice.

[8] This is probably had in view (Dan. xi. 40, seq.), where it is said: "*And at the time of the End shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships.*" Licinius was, when he was *Augustus* with Constantine, sovereign of the south, Egypt, Libya, &c. Upon his seeking occasion for war against Constantine, which it appears was the case, and upon this war's breaking out, he might, perhaps, have been considered as divested of this rule in the mind of the prophet; and the fact is, as Eusebius affirms (Hist. Eccl. Lib. x. cap. ix.), Constantine was,

fearful and bloody persecution that the Church ever witnessed, and this had continued upwards of ten years. The Gospel had already been "*preached to every creature under heaven;*" and, during this period, it had been carried out, received, tried, and established, in places innumerable; so that *Kings and Queens*, as Eusebius has declared[1], now became *its nursing fathers and nursing mothers;* and now were therefore fulfilled the terms of prophecy.

During the whole of this latter period, in which the politics of Galerius were in full play—except only as checked by Constantine—the characters sustained by the persecuting Emperors, were necessarily of a piece with his own; and the consequence was, exactions, taxations, and proscriptions, the most grievous were carried on. The lands *were actually measured out for gain;* every species of produce was noted down, and the people arbitrarily assessed by public Censors, in the most exorbitant and cruel manner. Beggary was now the only refuge from extortion: and, in this case, multitudes were inhumanly murdered.

It was too, under the rule of Galerius and his creatures, that the heathen Priests were, for the first time, every where put into the highest offices of the state, for the purpose of driving more effectually the measures of

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upon the fall of Licinius, recognised emperor of the south. In that case Constantine would be considered sovereign of the south; and, as he had lately obtained signal victories over the Sarmatians, the Goths, and other people of the north, he would be sovereign of the north also. It is the fact that he came upon Licinius out of the north, and that his fleet, commanded by his son Crispus, also gave him battle in the straits of Gallipoli; in both of which encounters Licinius was vanquished. The remaining context (Dan. xi. 40), from this place to the end, is probably a recital of the proceedings of Licinius immediately before his fall; and the mention of Egypt, with Libya and Ethiopia, being at his steps with their riches, seems, I think, to confirm this: for, however unjustly he might have retained this sovereignty, after breaking faith with Constantine who ceded it to him, he did, de facto, exercise that authority, and received tribute from those countries.

[1] In his commentary on Isaiah xlix. 23. His words are: ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ λέξιν πληρούμενον αὐτοῖς ἴδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς." "Quod ad literam impletum ipsis oculis cernimus." And the sentiment is often repeated in our following work.

the Tyrants. Throughout the East, which fell to the lot of Maximinus, and afterwards to Licinius, the Priests were erected into Judges in every district; who, the better to effect their sanguinary purposes, kept altars burning in the courts of justice, by which to try the accused Christians whether they would sacrifice, or not, to the *Images* of these their persecutors, and thereby recognize at once the power of *the Beast*, and of the *false Prophet!* And thus did these men, even from the very commencement of this fearful season of trial, put themselves forward *as Gods*, claiming to be worshipped either in their *own persons*, or in *their images*, in direct opposition to Him, whose sole right this was; and they visited with confiscation, imprisonment, bonds, and death, multitudes who refused to do so. During this time also, pestilences, famines, earthquakes, wars, and the like, happened to such an extent, that even Gibbon believed *a moiety of human nature to have suffered*[2]; n other words, *one* of every two was *taken, and another left*, just as our Lord's memorable prediction had declared it should be.

If then, the latter period of the Roman Empire, is the one assigned by Daniel for the occurrence of things such as these, under the abominable dynasty of *the Beast*, and the diabolical ministration of its Horns or Kings,—aided as it was by *False Prophets;* which *must necessarily be the case;* and, if our Lord has, by directing our attention more particularly to this Prophet, fixed upon the investiture of Jerusalem by the armies of this same Power, as one of the beginnings of the fearful things which were so soon to take place; it must appear as certain, I think, as words and facts can make it, that St. Paul's *man of sin*,—who should *soon be revealed*, and should finally be consumed by the spirit of our Lord's mouth; *who should magnify himself against every thing that was called God, shewing himself to be God*[3],—must also have been this self-

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[2] Decline and Fall, &c. chap. x.

[3] This passage (2 Thess. ii. 3, seq.) of St. Paul deserves particular consideration in this place. It has already been cited (p. cxxii). The first place I shall notice is this: "*except there come a falling away first,*" which should be THE *falling a way*, &c (Gr. ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον):

same Power, setting up as it did in these Rulers, this very claim; and enforcing it, for the first time, by fire, sword, and every species of torment, upon the very people that St. Paul was then addressing. It must have been, I say, the combined and continued rule here had in view, which so exactly falls in both with, the times, and persons here mentioned.

πρῶτον): that is, some apostacy already known, and most probably that foretold by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 10—13): "*Then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another,*" &c. Again, "*The man of sin... the son of perdition*" (Gr. ὁ ἄνθρωπος της ἁμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας) must also mean some person, of whom previous notice had been given. No such person is mentioned in our Lord's prediction; but, as he refers us to Daniel, it is likely we must there look for him. In Daniel then, as we have seen, such person is mentioned, who, it is there foretold, *shall fall, shall be given to the burning flame,* and hence *shall be consumed.* We are also told,—and we are told this no where else,—that "*he shall speak great things against the most High; shall magnify himself above every God, shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods,*" &c. St. Paul tells us, "*that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God;*" "*exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.*" Which I think I may affirm is a mere citation of this place in Daniel; not indeed verbatim, but giving the true theological sense and bearing of it; to which a parallel can no where else be found. Besides, the terms "εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς Θεὸν καθίσαι," does not necessarily mean, "*that he as God sitteth* IN *the Temple of God;*" but, may be rendered, *that he himself sitteth* FOR *the Temple of God, as God;* i.e. he sits to be taken *for the Temple of God,* and as containing the Deity within him; so putting himself forward as God: it being well known, that the ancients held every extraordinary person,—as indeed the orientals now do,—to be *filled with the anima mundi* in an extraordinary manner: and hence, the king of Babylon said of Daniel, "*the spirit of the Holy Gods is in him.*" The Hellenistic usage of εἰς will fully admit of this. See Schleusner sub voce, and my Visitation Sermon and Notes, p. 60, seq. St. Paul moreover, so qualifies this passage as to make it certain, that the person spoken of by him was *soon* to appear. That *the apostacy,* or falling away, was then also in progress there can be no doubt. St. Paul himself tells us (Gal. ii. 4), that certain "*false brethren had crept in unawares,*" &c. In 2 Pet. ii. 1, these are styled *false teachers, who should bring in damnable heresies.* See the whole chapter, and Jude 4, seq. 1 John ii. 18, 19. "*They went out from us,*" &c. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. "*Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,*" &c. Which the heretics of those times did, to the very letter; and which none since that day have done, except partially.

Let us now examine a few other places of the New Testament, which, from the manner of their wording, seem to relate to the same particulars. In the Revelation[1] (chap. xiii. 1 seq.) we have *a Beast* rising "*out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns.*" And (ib. ver. 5) there was given to him *a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;* ... "and he opened his mouth *in blasphemy against God*, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven." It is added: "And it was given him *to make war with the saints*, and *to overcome them.*" Nothing is here said about his sitting *in* the Temple of God; but only, of his blaspheming against God and his Tabernacle. Here also, as in Daniel (chap. vii.) the Beast comes up out of the sea. It has likewise "*Ten horns* (vv. 7, 20) *and a mouth speaking great things.*" And (ver 21) one of these horns makes war on the saints: *speaks great words against the most High*, and wears out the saints: and this he does during a period termed "*a time, times, and the dividing of time:*" and then he is to fall. In the Revelation, this is to continue for "*forty and two months.*" In the one case, *three times and a half* is given; and in the other, *three years and a half:* intended, apparently, to mark the same period. In Daniel (chap. xi. 36, seq.) the same power is described: which (xii. 7) is to continue for *a time, times, and a half;* and then, when the power of the holy people shall be scattered abroad, all these things are *to be finished*[2]*:* and (ib. ver. 11) we are told, that from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate is set up, there shall (till the time of the end) a period of *twelve hundred and ninety days* elapse, exceeding inconsiderably that of *three years and a half.* Again, in Daniel (viii. 9, seq.) we have apparently the same Power described; but the time given

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[1] I do not think any apology necessary to justify a comparison of the Revelation with other parts of the New Testament, and with certain parts of the Old; because I see no reason why it should be supposed, that this book contains in itself anything independent of the rest of the Scriptures. On its authority, see Sir Isaac Newton, Part ii.

[2] This holy people cannot be the Jews, as mentioned above; because both their power and their holiness had left them.

for its duration is, *two thousand and three hundred days:* a period greatly exceeding any of those hitherto mentioned. But, as this period falls but little short of seven years, it is not improbable, Daniel's whole prophetical week may have been intended. Be this as it may however, it is certain, from the events mentioned, that it must have ended with those *which closed that week.* The same Persecuting Power is therefore, apparently, had in view in all these places.

Let us now return to Rev. xiii. 7. It is here said, that "*power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.*" It is evident Daniel's fourth kingdom was to be thus universal (comp. chap. ii. 39, 40: vii. 23): and, from the nature of the case, as already shewn, that must have pointed out the *heathen Roman power*[1]: and there seems to be as little room for doubt, this must mean the same.

Again. Rev. xvii. 3, the same Beast, having seven heads and *ten horns*, is presented to us: and we are told (ib. ver. 9) that "*the seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth*[2]: and (ver. 12) "*the ten horns... are ten kings*, who *receive power as kings* ONE HOUR *with the beast.*" "*These*," it is added, "*have one mind*"...

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[1] Let it not be supposed, as it sometimes is, that anything more is meant in the predictions of these four monarchies, than the fact of their fall *as monarchies;* and of the last, of its fall as an *heathen monarchy*, to be followed by the erection of one that should *be religious* and never-ending; succeeding the last, nevertheless, in the possession even of earthly dominion: Kings then becoming the nursing Fathers, and Queens the nursing Mothers of the Church. It is quite foreign to the question therefore to suppose, with Sir Isaac Newton, that, as Persians and Greeks still exist, we may still extend these predictions to them; or, with others that, as Czars (Cæsars) are still in being, we may therefore still look to such fragments of the Roman empire, as may suit us, for a further ulfilment of these prophecies. This is deliberately and blindly to break down, and to remove, the ancient landmarks which have been given for our guidance; and to take into our hands, things with which we have no right to meddle.

[2] In J. Vaillant's book on coins (Par. 1694, p. 30) we have an account of one of the coins of Vespasian thus given: "*Roma Figura muliebris septem Romæ collibus insidens, ad quarum radices lupa cum puerulis.*" One would imagine, that the Evangelist had this very coin before him when he gave this description!

"*these shall make war with the Lamb: and the Lamb shall overcome them.*" We are then told, that the waters seen by the Evangelist, "*where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,*" implying, as before, universal rule: which is confirmed by ver. 18, which says: "*And the woman* (*drunken with the blood of the saints*, ver. 6) *which thou sawest is that great city, which* REIGNETH *over the kings of the earth.*" The *then reigning* city was, as every one knows, remarkable for *its seven hills:* its *ten*[3] persecuting Cæsars, did, as we have seen, make war upon the saints; did, for a certain period, prevail against them; and this was in the last portion of the last prophetical week of Daniel's seventy; which might well be described by any period mystically called *an hour, three days and a half*, or the like.

In chapter xvi. 10, 11, the kingdom of the Beast is filled with darkness, because a vial of God's wrath is poured out upon it: they now gnaw their tongues for pain, and *blaspheme the God of heaven.* Evil spirits (ver. 13, 14) then proceed out of the mouth of the dragon (that old serpent the devil), and out of the mouth *of the Beast*, and *of the false Prophet*, working miracles to deceive if possible the Elect, and to stir up all to battle *against God himself.* The judgment then sits (xvii. 1, as in Dan. vii. 22, 26) upon this great whore; and (chap. xviii. 2) the sentence is proclaimed, "*Babylon the great*[4]

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[3] The *eleventh*, or *little horn*, is not taken into the account in the Revelation; the round number, with the other particulars there given, being quite sufficient to point out the dynasty of heathen Rome. It is truly pitiable to observe the impotent and vulgar ribaldry of Gibbon on this subject; who, although he allows that all the folly of millenarians was to be attributed to their ignorance of the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse, indulges nevertheless in sneering at Christianity on this account; and particularly, because the groundless notion had obtained currency, that the world was about to be destroyed by fire! Decline and Fall, &c. chap. xv.

[4] Rome was, for some reason or other, occasionally called *Babylon* in these times. Babylon was too, the Mother of harlots: it was in the plains of Shinaar that idolatry took its rise; it stands first in the order of the dynasties moreover, in Daniel's first vision; it oppressed the captive

is fallen," (ver. 8,) "she shall be utterly *burned with fire*," shall *be consumed with the spirit of his mouth; "for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her;*" from before whom "*a fiery stream issued and came forth*," (Dan. vii. 10, 11): and *the body of the Beast*, is accordingly "*given to the burning flame.*"

Similar to this is chap. xiv. 6, seq. where we learn, that, after the everlasting Gospel has been carried forth into every nation, Babylon is declared to have fallen: according to our Lord's prediction, the END had now come. This is repeated in terms a little different (chap. xx. 9, 10) where we are told, that the devil is turned into hell, with the *Beast* and the *false Prophet*, and that they are there to be tormented for ever. After this, the new heaven and new earth promised by the Prophet[1], and then expected by the Church[2], comes down, as does the New Jerusalem, from God out of heaven; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it[3]. The power of the holy people is therefore, now extended far and wide: and (Dan. xii. 7) *all these things are finished.* In like manner (Rev. x. 6, 7) an oath is sworn, "*that there shall be time no longer*," but that now, the mystery of God *is finished, as He hath declared to his servants the prophets:* when, again (Rev. xi. 15) "*The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; who shall reign for ever and ever.*" The same thing is said virtually (chap. xvii. 16, 17), where we are told,

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captive Israelites—as Egypt did—and hence its fall was predicted by several prophets; and here, for a similar reason, the terms of some of those predictions are applied to heathen Rome.

[1] Isaiah lxv. 17; lxvi. 22.

[2] 2 Pet. iii. 13. Examine this chapter from ver. 7 to the end, with the parallel passages marked in the margin, and it will be found, that no dissolution of the natural world could have been meant. It had long been foretold, that the Jewish polity should be destroyed *by fire;* comp. Deut. xxxii. 21, with Rom. x. 19; and ib. Deut. ver. 22, seq. and ver. 43, which unites, as here, the nations with the Church of God.

[3] Rev. xxi. 2–10, 24. "The tabernacle of God is with men" (3)...in which *all things are made new* (5). See also chap. iii. 12, where the coming down of the New Jerusalem is also mentioned, and the *new name* to be written upon believers, i. e. *Christian.*

that God hath put it into the hearts of these Persecuting Powers to have one mind (comp. ver. 13), and to fulfil his will, so that they should (in effect) hate the whore, and eventually make her desolate[4] ... until *the words of God* (as spoken by all his prophets) *should be fulfilled*. In the words of our Lord, the Gospel had now been preached in all nations, and THE END was come: the days had now closed, in which *all things* foretold of Him should be fulfilled: the *latter days* were now passed, and the kingdom, having no such terms or period assigned to it, was for ever established.

It is not my intention to follow out this question further here, or to enter on a detailed account of the Book of the Revelation, having done this to some extent elsewhere[5]. I would remark on this Book generally, that if the passages noticed above are so particularly limited and defined by the circumstances and events adverted to—which I think it is impossible not to see—then it must be certain, no ingenuity can fairly apply them, either to any other period, or to any other events whatsoever. And, if this be the case, then we have all the leading events determined and fixed; which will supply a sufficient clue to the true and complete developement of all the other particulars, there laid down by the Evangelist. To me the Revelation seems to

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[4] It is evident from the context here, as compared with chap. xiii. 1, and with the parallel places in Daniel, that the same persecuting powers are meant in all; and if so, *they must form a part of* THE LATTER DAYS *of the heathen Roman empire:* which indeed is sufficiently clear, even from the Book of Revelation itself. Their *hating* and *desolating* the whore therefore, must here be understood metonymically, i. e. as doing this *in effect;* an usage by no means rare in Holy Writ. See Isaiah iii. 8, 9, 14; ix. 20, seq.—This did not occur to me when I wrote my Exposition on this book. I then followed Dr. Hammond, erroneously placing these powers beyond the limit assigned to them by Daniel and St. John.

[5] "Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures...to which are annexed Two Dissertations," &c. London: 1830. James Duncan, Paternoster Row; where a large number of the prophecies are brought to bear on this subject, as are many opinions of the Fathers. Still this question requires a much more extended investigation, which I hope one day to give it.

contain three distinct visions[1]: the first ending with chapter iii.: the second, with chapter xiii.: and the third, to which additions are made, with the end of the Book. The first Vision contains a warning, perhaps, to the whole Christian Church then in being: the second and third, are different visions relating to the same things; the latter, as in the visions of Daniel, being the more full and particular. The parallel passages cited in the margins of our common Bibles, if diligently compared with one another, and with those also given in the places referred to, and particularly as explained in various parts of the New Testament, will supply perhaps the best commentary that can be written on this Book. Add to this, its own repeated declarations, that what was then said was *shortly to come to pass*[2]; and we shall be led to a conclusion as strong as words and facts can make it, that the purposes of God, as declared by the Prophets, and generally summed up in this Book, have been long ago fulfilled and finished.

If, on the other hand, we are to interpret this Book with those of the Prophets generally, by the *resemblances* supposed to exist between the declarations made, and certain events of history, which have, or have not yet, come to pass, independently of any other limiting and determining considerations,—as it has usually been the case;—then I will allow, these declarations may be made to speak of any, or every, extraordinary person or event, which has hitherto existed, or may hereafter exist, on earth: and the consequence must be,—as it certainly has long been the case,—that the *more sure word of Pro-*

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[1] Primasius, quoted in my Exposition (p. 305), has these remarkable words on this subject: "Post ipsam utique visionem se alteram memorat vidisse: non gestorum est diversum tempus, sed visionum: ac siquis unam rem diversis modis enarret." And again (ib. p. 333), "Quicquid igitur in tubis minus dixit, hic in phialis est. Nec est aspiciendus ordo dictorum, quoniam sæpe Spiritus Sanctus ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quæ minus dixit." Nothing is more common with the prophets, than to repeat the same predictions again and again. The things detailed in the two last visions of this book, are so clearly identical, that, it must be matter of the greatest wonder, this should have been so constantly overlooked.

[2] Chap. i. 1, 3; iii. 11; xxii. 7, 10, 12, 20.

phecy, will, of all things here below, be made *the most unsure:* and, that he will act most wisely, who meddles with no such declarations, and particularly with those of the Apocalypse.

It could scarcely be supposed one would think, that a Divine Revelation would be given, which should not be understood; or that means would not be afforded, for the attainment of its intentions. My own impression is, that this Book was intended to be understood, and that means fully adequate to this have been afforded: and further, that the *determining and defining limits of all the events necessary to be known*, have been so clearly marked out, and so immoveably fixed, by the mention of events well known and ascertained, not only that he who runs may read them; but, that he who reads them, cannot doubt, as to their intent and purpose. How it has come to pass, that they should have been so long overlooked, or disregarded, especially as the Fathers of the Church have so generally given views on this subject, which must have been grounded on these considerations, is to me a matter of the greatest astonishment. I will only add, If Daniel has, in *all his visions*, so limited the things respecting the last of his *Four Dynasties*, and the commencement of his *Fifth;* and, if all the declarations cited from the other Prophets, and the Psalms, do, according to the interpretation put upon them by the Evangelists and the Apostles, fully conspire with the times and events so pointed out;—which I will affirm is the fact;—then I say, it will not only be folly, but impiety of the most daring sort, to attempt to fix *other limits*, and to point out other events, as the mere fancy of the individual may suggest: and then to call upon Believers, to act upon these as faithful indications of the Divine will. Some of the prognostications founded on these views, have already shewn themselves to be false; and, I will venture to predict, that time will shew all those, whose periods have not yet run out, to be equally groundless and deceptive. I might say much on the immensity of the evil hence resulting, in destroying *a chain of evidence*, given in *this more sure word of prophecy*,—

and on which the primitive Church implicitly relied[1], and which it urged with so much effect and success,—as I might on the power supplied to the Infidel, the Scoffer, and the Lukewarm:—but I forbear. If I have said enough to rouse others to a more rational and extended inquiry on these subjects, I shall have gained my point, having no doubt that the truth will in the end prevail.

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[1] A circumstance that has not failed to call forth the usual sneer of Gibbon: which must, of necessity, be put down to the score of his extreme ignorance on the subject. "It was," says he, "universally believed, that the end of the world, and the kingdom of heaven, were at hand. The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the Apostles"..."the revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation." Decline and Fall, &c. chap. xv. The first part of this is as untrue, as the last is insidious and vicious. It is to be regretted indeed, that so much folly has been grounded by Christians on the Scriptures here had in view; still, the ignorance so evinced was not greater than that of Gibbon himself; and it partook not in the vice of his.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

Part III.

ON THE PERSONAL REIGN OF CHRIST ON EARTH.

This question has been shortly discussed by our Author in the following work, (pp. 278—281), and determined in the negative; which might have sufficed for us, had it not involved other considerations, which ought not to be overlooked here. For, if it be true,—as shewn above,—that *all things foretold by the Prophets*, received their fulfilment at a certain period of time; it will also be necessary to shew, that the promise of Christ's coming, so frequently mentioned in the New Testament—and of which the notion of a personal reign is only an abuse,—did actually take place within that period; and this we now propose briefly to do.

We have already seen that the Disciples inquired of our Lord, on a certain occasion, "*What shall be the sign of thy coming?*" (Matth. xxiv. 3). After warning them, as noticed by our Author, he answers, among other things, "*As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.*" (ib. ver. 27.) And again, (ver. 30), "*Then shall appear the* SIGN *of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power, and great glory:*" and (ib. ver. 37. comp. Mark xiii. 26, 33: Luke, xxi. 27), "*As the days of Noe were, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be.*" Then follows an intimation of the destruction which is to ensue: "*Two shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.*" It is added, "*Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord cometh.*" It should be remembered, all this is said in opposition to the notion,

that Christ shall then be found *personally*, either here or there, as Eusebius has well remarked. It should also be remembered, that this His coming was to be preceded and followed by unheard of tribulations, not only in Judea, but among all the tribes of the earth[1]: and that no precise time was fixed for its occurrence. It was, as in all the other cases adverted to above, to be known by the events pointed out[2].

This event is again introduced in St. John (xxi. 20) in these words: "*If I will that he tarry* TILL I COME, *what is that to thee?*" And again, (Acts i. 11,) "*This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven;*" which has tempted many to imagine, that the promised coming must also be *personal.* But, it is not necessary to suppose, that the "*like manner,*" mentioned, must refer to the person of our Lord: one would rather think it would relate to *the manner* of His ascension into heaven; and this was in a cloud, attended probably, as that of Elijah was, with a chariot of fire, and a whirlwind[3].

If then we may rely on this, we are brought at once to the several descriptions given of this coming, both in the Old and the New Testament. In Daniel for example, we have (chap. vii. 13, 14): "*One like the Son of man came with the* CLOUDS OF HEAVEN:"...*and there was given Him dominion and glory:*" which seems to identify itself with (Matth. xxiv. 30), "*They shall see* (ib. *the sign of*) *the Son of man, coming* IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN, *with power and great glory:*" and also with (chap. xxvi. 64,) "*Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming* IN THE CLOUDS OF

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[1] Matth. xxiv. 5—12; 29, seq.

[2] Ib. ver. 33. "*So likewise ye, when ye shall see these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.*" And, ib. ver. 36: "*But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven.*" If this be the fact, then *the seventy weeks of Daniel had not defined the period chronologically,* in which these things should take place; it had only described the events—undetermined in the prediction—by which the period should be known; and this was enough.

[3] 2 Kings ii. 11.

heaven." And this the High Priest seems to have understood, as an intended comment on this place of Daniel.

Again, this place in Daniel is evidently referred to, in these words (Rev. i. 7.): "*Behold he cometh* WITH CLOUDS; *and every eye shall see* (*perceive, recognize*) *Him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him*" (Comp. ib. xiv. 14.). Where, it should be observed, judgments and woes are had in view. And to this St. Paul appears to refer when he says (2 Thess. i. 7), "*When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*" And again, (ib. ii. 8.) speaking of the man of sin, he says, "*Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth: and with the* BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING:" alluding to our Lord's words, that this should be as *lightning shining from the east to the west;* and, as foretold by Zechariah (chap. ix. 14.): "*The Lord shall be seen over them, and his arrows shall go forth as the lightning:*"...."*and shall go with* THE WHIRLWINDS *of the south.*" Again, (in 2 Pet. iii. 5. seq.) this coming of our Lord is adverted to, and the times of the flood are taken by way of illustration, just as our Lord had before done[4], in his memorable prediction. Its period is termed

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[4] Matth. xxiv. 39. They "*knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.*" That is, its precise period is not foretold: *the signs of its* approach only are. St. Peter (ib. ver. 10) connects this place with our Lord's prediction also by the terms, "*the Lord will come as a thief in the night* (ib. Matth. ver. 43). St. Peter also adverts to the Epistles of Paul on this subject (vv. 15, 16). The place alluded to is, apparently, 2 Tim. iii. 1. seq. "This know also, that in THE LAST DAYS, perilous times shall come," &c. Then, in order to fix the times here meant, he adds, "*Of this sort are they which creep into houses* (9). "*But they shall proceed no farther,*" &c. So Jude also, as given in the text. St. Paul again, in 1 Tim. iv. 1, seq. "*Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in* THE LATTER TIMES *some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils...Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,*" &c. That the Gnostic sects generally did this, is matter of fact. Romanists, who partake to a certain extent in their errors, never did it but partially.

"*the day of the Lord*," and,—as our Lord had also said,—it is to "*come as a thief in the night:*" the judgments to accompany it are then dwelt upon; and the descent of the new heavens and earth is enounced, for the encouragement of the Believers.

Jude again, (14.) cites a prophecy of the very early times of Enoch on this subject. "*The Lord*," says he, "*cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly*," &c. He identifies the persons meant in these words: "*These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaking great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage.*" He then warns them, that this had been foretold; that "*there should be mockers* IN THE LAST TIME." "*These*," he adds, "*be they* (now, i. e. in these times) *who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit.*"

I need only add to this, that the Book of *the Revelation*, is only a more detailed and highly figurative account of *this Revelation of Jesus Christ;* in which a very large portion of the Old Testament is brought immediately to bear upon this subject; for the purpose of shewing, among other things, that *the Testimony of Jesus, is the spirit of (all) prophecy*[1]. I have already remarked, that, from the beginning of the fourth chapter, to the end of this Book, we have two distinct visions, intended to depict the judgments inflicted by the Lamb on his enemies; and to declare the final, and full, establishment of His Church. Towards the close of the first vision (chap. x. 6.) it is sworn that "*there shall be time no longer:*" in other words, nothing now remains of the predictions of Holy Writ, which shall require time for its fulfilment: and this is only an echo of Daniel (chap. xii. 7.) where an oath to the same effect is sworn, declaring that, when the power of the holy people shall be scattered (abroad) "*all these things shall be finished.*" So also here (Rev. ib. ver. 7.), when the seventh Angel shall begin to sound (his trumpet) "*the mystery of God shall be finished.*" And (ib. xi. 15.) The seventh Angel sounds, and now "*the kingdoms of this*

[1] Rev. xix. 10.

world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever:" as remarked above, exactly as Daniel had also predicted. Again, (giving the same things in a further vision, ib. xvi. 17.) when the seventh Angel has poured out his vial[2], a voice proceeds from the Throne saying, "IT IS DONE." Some further particulars are added for the purpose apparently, of making the whole more specific; and it is repeated, (xxi. 6.) "IT IS DONE."

In chap. xxii. 5, the particulars of the last vision end, when the Evangelist adds, as instructed by the Angel, "*The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his Angel to shew unto his servants the things* WHICH MUST SHORTLY BE DONE." And it is added, "*Behold*, I COME QUICKLY:" that is, I Jesus will shortly reveal myself in power, inflicting judgment on my adversaries, avenging the blood of my servants, and establishing for ever my kingdom. The warning that all is shortly to come to pass, is repeated in verses 10, 12, 20. To which the response of the Church is, "*Even so*, COME, LORD JESUS."

The fact, that the Lord Jesus did so come, and this within the period fixed by Daniel, and recognized by our Lord, is certain, as well from the fall of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews taking place even within that generation, as it also is from the fall of the *heathen Dynasty of Rome*, which commenced its work of destruction and of persecution from the same period; and also, from the establishment of the Christian Church, which immediately followed. The miraculous powers granted to the Apostles for this purpose, in the first instance, and continued, as it should seem, for some time after their death, were gradually and imperceptibly withdrawn, as being no longer wanted. The ordinary aids of the Spirit were granted, and, according to the promise of our Lord, are never to be withdrawn[3]: these, with the helps of Holy Scripture, and the ordinances of the Church, are now sufficient, and for ever shall be, so to build up Believers

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[2] Where the seventh vial of his vision answers to the seventh trumpet of the preceding one.

[3] John xiv. 16. comp. Rom. viii. 1, seq.; 1 Cor. xii. 1—14, &c.

in their most holy faith, and to make them even Temples of the Holy Ghost, that they shall want no manner of good thing; but shall go on their way rejoicing here; be made meet to be partakers with the Saints in light, and finally be received among them.

To conclude: If the word of prophecy is *the more sure* evidence to the Believer of the truth of the hope that is in him; then, it must have been delivered in terms such as would at once be intelligible to all, and would, at the same time, set forth such facts as would be obvious, convincing, and accessible to all. And this character it certainly sustains. To notice that portion of it only, which has been brought under review in this inquiry: Four great Empires are brought before us, which are to fall in succession. The first three of these are determined by the Prophet, as shewn above: while the *last*, or *fourth*, is made too plain to admit of a doubt, that the *heathen Dynasty of Rome* was intended. Our Lord also points this out in a manner not to be misunderstood: it was that, which should set up *the abomination of desolation;* which should not leave one stone upon another in the Temple; which, according to Daniel, should destroy the City and Sanctuary; but which, in its turn, should also fall. And this again, the Author of the Book of the Revelation designates, as the Power that in his days *reigned over the Princes of the earth:* the woman sitting on *the seven hills;* in other words, on *the Beast* which had "*seven heads*," and "*ten horns*," and was seen "*drunken with the blood of the Saints.*" This Power was to make *war with the Lamb;* according to Daniel, *with the Saints;* and, for a while was to prevail: but, according to both, was to be consigned *to the burning flame*, and this destruction was to be permanent.

These Horns, or Kings, are placed moreover in THE LAST PERIOD OF DAYS, of THIS DYNASTY: let this be carefully remembered: to that THEY MUST BELONG; they cannot therefore, be assigned, without palpable violence, to any other period. In this period St. Paul looked for them, under the general appellation of *the Man of sin;* their description he took from Daniel, and their destruction he spoke of, in terms equivalent to those used

by that Prophet. Other writers of the New Testament, and particularly St. John in the Apocalypse, looked in like manner for things which were *shortly to come to pass*, as St. Paul did when he declared, that he who then withheld, should do so, until he should be taken out of the way: all of which was but a virtual repetition of our Lord's prediction, when he said, "*This generation shall not pass away until these things be:*" and, "*If I will that he* (John) *tarry until I come, what is that to thee?*"

All these authorities concur moreover, in the declaration, that when all these things should have been done, THE END[1] *should come:* that "*the mystery of God should be finished,* as he had declared to his servants the prophets:" it *should be completed: time should now be* NO MORE: the END *of all things* (so foretold) should be at hand, and be fully brought to pass: *in these days should be fulfilled all that had been spoken of Christ* (and of his Church) *by the Prophets:* or, in other words, When the Gospel should have been preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations, and the power of the Holy People be scattered (abroad), *then should* THE END *come,* then *should all these things be finished.* I need now only say, All these things have been done: the old and elementary system passed away with a great noise; all these predicted Empires have actually fallen: and the *New kingdom;* the *New heaven and earth,* the *New Jerusalem,*—all of which were to descend from God, to be formed by his power, have been realized on earth; all these things have been done in the sight of all the nations: God's holy arm has been made bare in their sight: His judgments have prevailed, and they remain for *an everlasting testimony to the whole world: His kingdom* has come, as it was foretold it should, and His Will has, so far, been done; *His purposes have been finished:* and, from that day, to the extreme end of time, it will be the duty, as indeed it will be the great

[1] See also p. 282 below, note.

privilege of the Church, to gather into its bosom the Jew, the Greek, the Scythian, Barbarian, bond and free; and to do this as the Apostles did in their days, in obedience, faith, and hope[1].

[1] This was once done by the exertion of miracle, *for a testimony to all nations and to all times.* If many have fallen back since those times into heathenism, let it be remembered, the Apocalypse warned the churches of the danger of this, from the first.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

Part IV.

ON THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

On this question much need not be said; for, if the events of prophecy have *all been fulfilled*, and were so fulfilled upon the establishment of the Christian Church, as already shewn, every hope of a restoration of Jews to Palestine must be groundless and futile[1]. Besides, it must be most incongruous to look for the temporalities of the Old Testament under the New, in which we are taught, that there is *neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all*[2]. That neither in Jerusalem, nor on Mount Gerizim, exclusively, should the Father be worshipped[3]; but, that wherever there was a real spiritual child of Abraham, there should be a Temple of God the Holy Ghost[4]. And, let it be remembered, this was the doctrine which the Apostles themselves felt the greatest difficulty in receiving, met the greatest in its propagation, and laboured most anxiously and constantly, to preserve entire from commixture with Jewish notions.

Suppose, in the next place, the Jews were to be carried back to Palestine, and placed upon the land of their Fathers; How, I ask, could the inheritance of the different tribes be ascertained: for this must form as

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[1] Be it remembered, the *Seventy weeks of Daniel were determined* UPON HIS PEOPLE, *and* UPON HIS HOLY CITY, TO FINISH, &c. Dan. ix. 24.

[2] Col. iii. 11. See also Gal. iii. 28, where all, we are told, *are one in Christ Jesus; nd if Christ's, then Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.*

[3] John iv. 21—24.

[4] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

essential a part of such restoration, as their returning can? And, again, Who shall determine the individuals constituting each particular tribe[1]? this being an utter impossibility to uninspired man. But, if we are to have recourse to miracle in order to effect these things, then, I say, we have recourse to that, for which Holy Scripture gives no warrant whatsoever. A new Revelation will now be as much required to give grounds for this, as will miracle to determine, either the individuals of each particular Jewish Tribe, or the place of residence each should claim in the Holy Land. Neither of which is to be expected. And again, supposing all these things possible, then I ask, by What means are individuals, and whole families, to be transported from China, Tartary, the interior of Africa, and almost every known part of

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[1] To "the loss of all precise" knowledge as to families and tribes among the Jews, is, I suspect, to be ascribed the Jewish figment that ten of their tribes have been entirely lost. That a remnant of all the tribes returned from Babylon is certain from the fact, that sin-offerings were offered, for all Israel, in the times of Ezra (chap. viii. 35), one apparently for every distinct tribe. Both St. Paul, and St. James too, speak in their days of twelve tribes, as then known to exist. See Acts xxvi. 7. James i. 1; and, in the latter case, converts from each of these are particularly had in view. To this the Revelation cordially responds, telling us (chap. vii. 5, seq.) that, out of each of the twelve tribes, twelve thousand were sealed; that is, a considerable number out of every tribe, was then to be collected into the Christian Church; which, this St. James seems to say, was the fact. The truth is, a very large number of the captive Jews never returned at all to Judea, but remained in Babylonia, and in the other places to which they had been carried. Hence the Rabbinic schools of Sora, Pumbeditha, &c., and hence also the Babylonian Talmud. Many of these merged, in all probability, in the heathen about them; and others became Christian. Of this latter sort a very considerable number has been found in Koordistan, by Asahel Grant, M.D. as he confidently thinks. (London: John Murray, 1841). However this may be, one thing is certain,—and this makes marvellously against his hypothesis,—that instead of the Christian Church receiving anything like *life from the dead* from these, they actually stand in need, at this moment, of both spiritual light and life from the Christian Church, as Dr. Grant himself freely confesses! This loss of the distinction of tribes is perhaps judicial; and let it be remembered, the preservation of the Jews, as a people, without this, amounts to nothing.

the world to this land of promise; ample provision having been made for the return both from Egypt and Babylon? And, in the next place, What is to become of those who now occupy it, and who have realized a property in its lands[2]? And, lastly, What is there to be gained by all this? Is Christianity now so imperfect as to make this necessary, in order *that Believers may be* "COMPLETE *in Him*[3], *which is the head of all principality and Power?*" If so, the Apostle has hitherto been a false witness to the Church: and the Church itself, any thing but complete in its ordinances and privileges! A conclusion which has indeed been arrived at by some of the modern interpreters of this school. I would suggest to such the propriety of asking themselves, Is not this the very sort of judaizing, against which the Apostles so strenuously laboured?

They occasionally do cite however, some places in the New Testament, which they affirm clearly foretell this state of things. And of this, Rom. xi. 26. is dwelt upon as the most clear and positive. "*And so all Israel shall be saved.*" But, Is this a prediction of any particular event[4]? Is it any thing more than a doctrine, declaring (ver. 23) that, "*if they abide not in unbelief, they also shall be grafted in?*" And then, after a parenthesis reasoning on the fitness of this, it is added, "*And so* (better, *thus*, οὕτως, i. e. *in this way*) *all Israel shall be saved:*" in exact accordance with what the same Apostle says (2 Cor. iii. 16.), "*When it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away.*" But no where is there to be found any unconditional prediction of this.

As to the places usually cited from the Old Testament, it may be said once for all, that supposing they extend into Christian times, and beyond the limits assigned above, which I affirm is no where to be found;—

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[2] For this is anything but a case similar to that of the Canaanites, all being supposed, at this happy period, to have fully embraced the true religion.

[3] Col. ii. 10; see also ib. iv. 12.

[4] It should never be forgotten, that predictions, foretelling future events, are things altogether distinct and different from doctrines.

then, the interpretation of these must necessarily be so regulated, as not to run counter to Christianity, or in any way to interfere with its primary and acknowledged laws[1]: and these positively deny every thing like exclusive privilege to Jew, Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. In this case then, as before, nothing short of a new Revelation, and a new Dispensation, can justify the expectation of any such things as these. Whether we are to expect any such new light, and new appointments, I leave it to others to determine. I can find no such things foretold. I conclude on this question, therefore, that no restoration of Jews, either to *temporal, or spiritual, exclusive privileges*, is to be expected: that all such expectation is groundless; and, what is worse, that it tends only to confirm Jewish prejudices, which have hitherto proved all but invincible without it; and further, that those who are so anxiously pressing it, are unwarily calling into exercise a power, more than equal to all their better efforts to the contrary. To call the Jews to a belief in Christ, is a legitimate work of Christian

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[1] In interpreting the Old Testament, especial care must be always taken to ascertain, what the party addressed is; i. e. whether it is the faithful, or the unfaithful one. If we do this, we shall not apply the promises to reprobates, as is very commonly done; nor shall we lose sight of that pious portion, which was found to the last among that people, and of which St. Paul spoke when he declared there was in his days, "*a remnant according to the election of grace.*" Rom. xi. 5, seq. These formed the New Church of Jerusalem, of Rome apparently, and of several other places. Of the rest, it is enough to say, that they were spiritually blinded; that they became strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, and subject to the curse of the law. Hence, threats the most grievous have been denounced against them, by Moses and all the Prophets; and, under these, they now wander and suffer. To such, no promise can be, nor is there, extended; and to neither, can any exclusive privileges be assigned; the converted Jews of the Apostles' times found none; and it must be absurd to imagine, that length of time has altered the terms and provisions of the revelation in this respect. Again, it was common under the Law, to speak of Christian times and observances, in the terms peculiarly applicable to the Law. So Isaiah's *mountain of the Lord* (chap. ii. 2), Ezekiel's temple (chap. xlviii.), and Zechariah's *Jerusalem* (viii. 22, &c.), must necessarily refer to the Christian Church, and to the Apostolic, and immediately subsequent times; and the same will be found to be true of all similar passages.

faith and love: it is that which our Lord commanded, and it is that in which the Apostles persevered to the utmost. Circumstanced as the Jews now are, *they are strangers to the covenants of promise, they are without hope, and without God in the world.* They are as branches broken off, and dissevered from the stock of Abraham[2]: and it is faith in the Redeemer alone, which can graff them in, and make them the spiritual seed of Abraham: the fleshly descent availing nothing whatsoever under the new Covenant. To this end it is the duty of the Christian Church to labour; and, in this work, there are the best grounds for believing, that their labour shall not be in vain.

CONCLUSION.

If then, any reliance can be placed on what has been said above, it must appear, that the opinions of Eusebius were neither heterodox, as it regards the Divinity of our Lord, nor groundless, as to the declarations of prophecy. I may say for myself, I have examined the first of these questions with the most earnest desire of ascertaining the truth: and, in doing this, I have endeavoured to bring together such statements of Eusebius himself, as appeared to me the most likely to discover the true bent and inclinations of his mind. I have too, combined these with those of others, in which he appeared to partake, for the purpose of ascertaining to what results these actually led. Hence his Platonism, his concurrence with Philo, and his controversy with Marcellus, have been brought forward; and to this have been added, all the objections of Montfaucon and of others, which seemed to require notice: and my conclusion on the whole has been, that, Eusebius has, in no case, evinced any inclination whatever to the errors of Arius; but has, in all,—if not so frequently as some have done, yet quite as fully,—maintained *the entire and perfect Divinity, and distinct Personality, both of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* This, I think, must be the conclusion of every unprejudiced person, who takes

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[2] See the following work, p. 251, note.

the pains fully to enter into his modes of thinking and of speaking: as it also must, that those who have thought differently, have but partially considered this question.

As to his opinions on Prophecy, on the personal reign of Christ, and on the restoration of the Jews, I may perhaps say, proof has been given that these were well founded. It is, I think, impossible to find any questions more determinately settled and fixed in the Scriptures than these are. In the question of Prophecy, declarations the most plain and positive are so bound up with facts, the occurrence of which is well known to all, that it is impossible to conceive of any thing more plain, certain, and determinate, than this question is. Of the actual fall of the Four great Empires pointed out, no doubt can possibly exist: of the certainty of the things foretold to take place, during the *latter period* of the *last of these*, there can surely be no question; nor can there, that the extreme limit has been fixed, beyond which *they cannot* be made to pass. Again, our Lord, His Evangelist John, and His Apostles generally, connect this, beyond all possibility of doubt, with *the generation then existing;* and both these, as well as the Prophet Daniel, affirm, that, when the particular events so pointed out shall have taken place, then *all is fulfilled; the purposes of God are finished*, as declared by His Prophets, and THE END is come. The *Fifth kingdom* of Daniel, the *New Heaven and Earth* of Isaiah and the Apocalypse, and the New *Jerusalem* of the latter, is for ever established. All is here *plain, fixed, and determined:* no ingenious conjectures, no wire-drawn theory therefore, no double, triple, &c. interpretation, no devices turning aside the obvious import of language, are here wanted; all is plain, simple, obvious, and requiring no powers higher than those of the rustic, for its comprehension, and, for its reception, nothing beyond the simple and sincere desire of knowing the truth. And, what is perhaps best of all, it will throw a clear and steady light over the whole of the Old Testament, making its prophetic declarations as easy, and obvious, as are the doctrines of the New; and, at the same time, afford a system of evidence, in all respects irresistible. As to the other questions, just mentioned, they are so intimately

connected with this, that what determines the one must also determine the other: if the requirements of Prophecy are fulfilled; then nothing remains to be done by the Jews for this purpose. The period is past; and faith in the Christ of God, is now their only resource; and this comprehends no privileges whatsoever of an earthly nature.

I will only now add, if I have succeeded in vindicating the character and views of this very eminent writer and Prelate, and have been permitted to bring to light one of his very valuable works, which had long been supposed to be lost; and have, at the same time discovered and pointed out the means, by which the hitherto untractable and difficult problem of Prophecy may be satisfactorily solved; I shall indeed, have the greatest reason to be thankful to the great Giver of every good gift, for favours so great conferred upon me, and which, it may perhaps be reasonably hoped, will exert a beneficial influence on the Church of Christ for ages to come.

ERRATA.

Page		line		read	
.....	lxvi	.....	26	.....	ἑαυτόν.
.....	lxviii	.....	24	.....	εἶναι.
.....	lxxxi	.....	32	.....	πολόυντων.
.....	lxxxvi	.....	24	.....	*diverse.*
.....	xci	.....	26	.....	λέλεκται.
.....	61	.....	31	.....	οὐδὲ.
.....	85	.....	24	.....	πῦρ.
.....	88	.....	30	.....	Lampsacus.
.....	90	.....	36	.....	inconstantia.
.....	92	.....	25	.....	ὀρθῶς.
.....	94	.....	27	.....	προσευξόμενός.
.....	96	.....	13	.....	33.
.....	99	.....	31	.....	ἐνταῦθα.
.....	109	.....	30	.....	ὀρυγμαδὸς.
.....	111	.....	32	.....	ὀκοίην. ib. 35 ἃ.
.....	118	.....	39	.....	ἔξω.
.....	120	.....	39	.....	ὠμήστη.
.....	123	.....	6	.....	sacrificed.
.....	131	.....	8	.....	Clarian.
.....	149	.....	41	.....	πυρὸς.
.....	150	.....	8	.....	κομισθὲν.
.....	234	.....	15	.....	ἑβραίων.
.....	302	.....	33	.....	μαθημάτων.
.....	329	.....	37	...	αὐτὸν.

Fac-simile of the MS.

Sect. 16, 17. Book I.

THEOPHANIA.

THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS[1] OF CÆSAREA ON THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION.

1. Those who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have happened, are altogether impious and godless[2]: on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances[3], without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city

[1] Our MS. reads, ܘܐܣܗܕܣ, which ought rather to be ܐܣܗܕܣ, or ܐܣܗܕܣ as generally printed by Asseman, and as it often appears in the MSS.

[2] "Cujus sententiæ," says Lactantius, de falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. ii., "auctor est Democritus, confirmator Epicurus, sed et antea Protagoras, qui Deos in dubium vocavit; et postea Diagoras, qui exclusit," &c. These are the Atheists, ἄθεοι, of the ancients, on whom some excellent remarks from Plato's xth Book of Laws will be found quoted, Pref. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. l. p. 621. Edit. 1628.—But more on this subject when we come to our second Book. It does not appear that this exclusion took place, except at the celebration of the Lord's supper.

[3] Syr. ܚܫܩܕܢܐ. This word is not found in the Lexicons: but, as it is evidently derived from the same root as ܫܩܕ, *ship*, is, I take it for granted that something connected with a ship must be meant. In the Arabic, too, we have سَفِينَةٌ, *navis*, سَفَانَةٌ, *naupegia*, and سَفَّانٌ, *naupegus*. Syr. ܫܩܕ. Castell gives ܫܩܕ, *nauta*; but

be built, when the science of the architect is wanting. And, as they themselves confess these things, I know not by what estrangement of the intellect it is, that they do not consider the courses of the sun (as being) according to their manner; the changes of the moon, according to their appointments; the (several) orders of the stars, as in their due course; and the revolutions of the curvatures of the heavens, and the recurrence and changes of times and seasons[1]. And again with these, that (they do not consider) the weight of the mountains (as regulated) by the balance[2]; the equalization of days and nights; the unimpeded production of the animals; the traditionary and unchanging succession of life of long duration; the herbs of every sort of flower which spring out of the earth; the provisions for all the animals, as suitable for each; their several senses; the members of the body; their properties of excellence, and as located in their (several) situations, so that (men) see with their eyes, and feel with their hands: which they also say, is obvious to the blind. So that with atheïstical affirmations, and injurious[3] wickedness of mind,

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but the sense must be here, *naupegus*, i. q. the Arab. سفان. Theodoret has a passage not unlike this; (De Providentia Oratio, 1. p. 325. Tom. iv. Edit. 1642), but, as it is not identical, it will afford us no light on this word.

[1] This argument is also used by Athenagoras. Legat. pro Christ. p. 60. seq. and by Theodoret in the place just cited.

[2] Alluding to Isai. xl. 12. Theodoret's comment on the place is, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀργὸν, οὔδε περιττὸν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρήχθη: "nihil enim otiosum, nihil redundans, in lucem productum est." The Mohammedans—who borrowed most of their early notions from the Christians, (see my Persian Controversies, p. 124. seq.),—tell us, moreover, that the mountains are placed as studs on the earth, for the purpose of giving it stability, and of restraining one part from moving off to another. See M. de Sacy's Notes on the Pandnamah of Attar, p. 35. seq. Some beautiful remarks on this subject generally, will be found in Theophilus of Antioch, addressed to Autolycus, near the beginning. Among our own writers, Paley, Tucker on the Light of Nature, and the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises, will be read with interest.

[3] Syr. ܥܬܝܕܢܐ ܘܥܘܠܐ. The first of these words is not found in the dictionaries; but, as the sense of its root ܥܬܕ is known, there can be no doubt on its general meaning.

(they assert) that there is no work either of wisdom, of the WORD OF GOD, or of Providence (evinced in all this); but they imagine on the contrary, that (all) is of blind fortune, and happens just as it may be, without object or end. These same therefore are, as being atheïstical, driven far away from the Divine hearing (of the Word), and entirely from the society of those who fear God.

2. The company too of the Polytheïsts[4], on the other hand, set in order against the preceding, seems to me to be in extreme error;—that they err, as children in intellect, who change the worship of the Maker of the world, the Governour of all, the God who is over all, for (that) of the things which are of Him; and (hence) honour the sun, the moon, and the rest of the parts of the universe, the primary elements, the earth, water, air, and fire, with the name due to Him, who is their Maker and Creator; and call those Gods[5] which never existed; nor had existed, nor had been (so) named, had not the Maker[6] of the universe, THE WORD OF GOD, willed that they should exist. Nor do they appear to me better than those who leave the chief Architect, to admire the excellency of workmanship (visible) in the houses of kings; the wrought cielings[7] and the walls; their many coloured and flowered pictures; their roofs variegated with gold and sculpture of precious stones; and attribute to these the praise and wisdom due to their Artificer; which they ought to ascribe, not to the things seen, but to Him alone who is their chief Architect; to confess Him to be the cause of their wonder, and of these many works

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[4] Syr. ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ apparently imitating the Greek πολύθεοι, Polytheists.

[5] Not unlike this, our Author in his "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," cap. vii. p. 512. D. Edit. 1695: and particularly cap. xi. p. 524. A. seq. which is identical with it.

[6] It is common with our Author to consider Christ as the Maker of the World, and Father of the intelligent creature man.

[7] The Syriac here ܣܘܟܠܐ, I can find in no Syriac lexicon. The Greek, however, l.c. above, from which this passage is a literal translation, has ὀρόφους, which the Latin translator (Edit. Valesii) has rendered by "*cameras.*" The Syriac, however, is evidently

of wisdom. For He alone is wise who supplied the cause, that these many things should thus be. These differ, therefore, in no respect from mere infants. Nor do those whose admiration is expended on the lyre with its seven strings,—the (mere) instrument of music,—but not on him who is the inventor of its structure, nor on him who knows its use, nor yet on his wisdom. Nor (again) do those who leave him who is eminent in war, to adorn his spear and shield with the crowns of victory. Nor do those who honour the streets, squares, buildings, temples, gymnasia—things inanimate—with the admiration due to the great king, who caused the erection of such chief city of his kingdom: when it was right they should admire, neither the pillars nor the stones, but the great maker and lawgiver[1] of these instances of wisdom.

3. In[2] conformity with these (considerations) also, we make this same (Being) the (efficient) cause of all which we see with the eyes of the body; not the sun, the moon, nor any other of the things in the heavens. It is becoming too, that we should confess them all to be the works of wisdom: but not, that we should honour or worship them by means of any similitude of Him, who is their Maker and Creator. From the contemplation of these too, we both praise and worship, with the whole affection of the soul, Him who again is known, not by means of the bodily eyes, but only by the mind which is pure and enlightened;

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a compound, formed apparently of ܡܓܕܒ, and ܐܓܘܠ, or, it may be ܐܓܘܠ ܡܓܕܒ, signifies "*jugum textorium.*" If the second term of our compound be derived from this, the whole might be intended to signify, *cielings resembling woven work.* But, if we suppose ܡܓܕܒ to be the word so taken, then *cielings* resembling almonds, i.e., so carved, might have been intended.

[1] Syr. ܣܚܫܐܪ which is an error, for ܣܚܫܐܪ. And here I may inform the reader, that where I have supposed an error to exist in the Syriac text, I have generally proposed its emendation in brackets thus [ܣܚܫܐܪ].

[2] See Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 524. C. D. from which our text slightly differs.

Him (I say) who is the King of all, THE WORD OF GOD. For no one ever graced the (mere) body of any wise and intelligent man, (or) his eyes[3], head, hands, feet, or the rest of his flesh, much less his external clothing, with the title of wisdom; nor yet has termed the vessels in the houses, nor the service-vessels, of the philosophers, wise; while every thinking person has expressed his wonder at that concealed, and unseen, mind which is in man.

4. Thus, and more particularly,—before these visible ornaments which are (but) the bodies of this whole universe, and which have been fabricated from one (species of) matter,—let us express our wonder at that unseen and invisible WORD, that Maker and Adorner of the exemplars[4] of all things, who is the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD: whom, the Maker of all, He who is beyond all, and above all being, generated of Himself as a ray of light from His own Godhead[5], and constituted Him both the Leader and Governour of this whole (world).

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[3] Imitated apparently by Theodoret,—Græc. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 183, &c.:—who, it may be remarked, is a very constant imitator of our Author.

[4] The Greek text (l.c.) of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. (p. 525. A.) has no term corresponding to this. Syr. ܐܝܟܢܘܬܐ.

[5] So Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ, p. 57. Ed. 1624. ἀπόῤῥοιαν εἶναι φαμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀποῤῥέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον, ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. "Ita a Deo emanare ad ipsumque reflecti dicimus, ut emissi a sole radii reciprocant," &c. See also p. 70. C.

Tatian's statement (Orat. contra Græcos. Ed. 1624, p. 163,) is deserving of notice here. He says, "θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτοῦ "(sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ.) προπηδᾷ λόγος· ὁ δὲ λόγος οὐ κατὰ κενοῦ χω- "ρήσας, ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται. τοῦτον ἴσμεν τοῦ "κόσμου τὴν ἀρχήν." Cum voluit autem ipse (Deus Pater sc.) verbum "ex ejus simplicitate prosiliit. Et verbum non inaniter prolatum, pri- "mogenitum opus fit ipsius Patris. Hoc scimus esse principium mundi." Which seems to me to express very accurately the mind of our Author on this subject. Again, ib. the notion of *reason*, so commonly had recourse to by our Author, when speaking of the WORD, is thus applied by Tatian. "λόγος γὰρ ὁ ἐπουράνιος πνεῦμα γεγονὼς ἀπὸ "τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, κατὰ τῆς τοῦ "γενήσαντος αὐτὸν πατρὸς μίμησιν, εἰκόνα τῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἄν- "θρωπον ἐτοίησεν." κ. τ. λ. "Verbum enim illud cœleste, spiritus a "patre

5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governour of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared,—as the Divine words declare[1]. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator[2], the Divine Power, His ONLY (begotten), who should be sufficient for all[3]; who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father[4], receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In no

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"patre genitus, et ratio ex rationali potentia, hominem immortalitatis "imaginem fecit ad imitationem sui genitoris." John i. 1. seqq. is evidently the Scripture had principally in view here, just as it is again and again in our Author. Euseb. Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. i. p. 501. B. "ὁ δὴ καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀληκτου καὶ ἀνάρχου θεότητος ἀναβλυστάνον, ἔξω πρόεισι" κ.τ.λ. "Quæque (i.e. lux) supernè ex divinitate prin-"cipii ac finis experte emanans, extrà procedit," &c. To the same effect Lactantius, Lib. II. cap. vii. and again very fully, Lib. IV. cap. vi. seq. Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. II. p. 119. Ed. 1624. it. ib. p. 128. Clemens. Alexandr. Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 5, it. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 703. Ed. 1629; and our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. I. cap. i. p. 3. B. seq. See also Sect. 23, below.

[1] Alluding to 1 Tim. vi. 16.

[2] Our Author argues in his tract against Marcellus, pp. 8, 9, that even before the incarnation, Christ was a Mediator between God and the angels, and this he grounds on Gal. iii. 19,—"*ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator.*" His words are: "καὶ ἕνα τὸν μεσίτην τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Ἀγγέλων." He has misunderstood the Scripture here.

[3] This sentence is not found in the Greek, Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 525. B. See the note of Valesius on this place. It is, however, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. vi. p. 155.

[4] Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 706.—"προσομιλεῖν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως." See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. vi. p. 154. C.

other way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all things[5], by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal: leading on and carrying forward[6], and governing (the whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him.

6. The proof[7] then, of this conclusion is obvious. For, if those which we usually term the primary elements of all,—the earth, water, air, and fire, were themselves the constituent portions of the universe, and are constituted of a mixed[8] nature, which we even see with our eyes is the case,—and, if the essence of all were one, and that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in these matters love to term it; and were without figure and visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason;—Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world[9] was made to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also the distinction of the (several) elements? And whence the

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[5] This whole sentence is erroneously translated in the Latin, thus: "sumptis in manus habenis totius mundi:" the Greek being, "καὶ τὰς ἡνίας (malè ἡνίας) τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδησάμενος." The Syriac is correct, and stands thus: ܘܒܪܫ ܣܡ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܕ ܠܟܠ ܥܒܕ ܘܩܛܪ ܠܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢ. It was not necessary to suppose that ἡνία must signify a bridle: both it, and the Syriac ܫܘܠܛܢ, meaning any strap, thong, or the like, by which any thing is tied or bound together, as well as *bridle*.

[6] The Greek, ἄγει καὶ φέρει, is literally translated by the Syriac here, ܘܡܫܟ ܘܡܒܠ. Our translator has, in like manner, rendered the Greek ἡνιοχῶν, by ܡܕܒܪܢ, governour, not "*auriga*," as in the Latin.

[7] De laudd. Constant. ib. p. 525. C.

[8] The Greek has here, "ἐξ ἀλόγου συνέστηκε φύσεως:" the Syriac, ܡܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܝܠ ܐܬܬܩܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ, which I have translated literally.

[9] The Greek is (l. c.) "πόθεν ἄν εἴποι τις τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ κόσμον ἐννυπάρχειν αὐτῇ." Lat. trans. "unde ornatum ei inesse quis dixerit." Our Syriac, ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܣܕܪ ܕܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܣܕܪ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ. Where he was, perhaps, wrong in taking τὸν κόσμον to signify the world, rather than *beauty, order*, or the like.

concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter[1]?

7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds?

8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it?

9. And, Who has attempered this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love?

10. Who is He that has distinguished the race subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal?

11. Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life?

12. Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life?

13. Who is He that performs even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment?

14. Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes[2] of these things?

15. But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles[3], THE WORD OF GOD. For THE WORD OF GOD who is Almighty, has in truth

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[1] See our Author's Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 151. B.

[2] Gr. laudd. Const. ib. p. 526. A. "γενέσεις καὶ ὥρας. Lat. trans. "generationes et corruptiones." Not very exact. The Syriac better, ܕܣܪܝܩܐ ܘܫܚܠܦ̈ܐ.

[3] Gr. ib. p. 526. A. "ὁ παραδοξοποιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος." Lat. trans. malè, "admirabilis Dei sermo." Syr. melius. ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܬܬܪ.

extended himself into every thing: above into the heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together[4]; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound[5]. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all[6], the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens.

16. This selfsame Word of God too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form[7] of plant.

17. This selfsame Word of God also immerged[8] even into the depths of the sea[9], and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature.

18. The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature[10], those (beings) which are inwardly con-

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[4] Syr. ܣܡ, a verb not found in the dictionaries: but, as it must be cognate with ܣܡܡ, Acts xxvii. 17, and with the Chald. חצץ, there cannot be much doubt as to its meaning.

[5] Gr. "ὀργανόν τε τούτῳ παναρμόνιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ξυμπηξάμενος." To the same effect Clemens Alexand., Lib. VII. p. 704. A. seq.

[6] Alluding to Job xxxvii. 7. See my Translation and Notes.

[7] Gr. ib. B. "πολύμορφα κάλλη συνεστήσατο." "Lat. multiplices plantarum species produxit." Minùs exactè. Syr. meliús. ܙܝ̈ܢ ܕܨܒ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕܡ̈ܠܝ̈ܐ ܙܝ̈ܢ.

[8] Syr. ܥܡܕ. This is one of those cases, in which a verb takes a new sense from a metonymical use of it in the first instance. It is taken to signify *baptizing*, because *baptism* and *confirmation* are administered at the same time in the East. And as it is so taken to signify *baptizing*, so it is subsequently to imply *immersion*.

[9] Alluding to Job xxxviii. 16.

[10] Syr. ܒܐ ܕܨܒ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕܐܘܡܢܐ ܕܒ lit. by the artifice of nature. Gr. ib. B. ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ τελεσιουργῶν. Lat. trans. "in ipsa naturæ officina perficiens."

ceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water[1]), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempers the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents[2]; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure.

19. But[3] why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of THE WORD OF GOD? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind?

20. Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate[4]; and others say, that He is the God who is beyond all[5]. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governour of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all, with bodies, (and)

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[1] It is evident, from what follows here, that the sea-water is meant: for, in no other case, can we suppose the water spoken of to be changed into sweetness. Syr. ܡܝ ܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܬܚܠܦ ܠܡܬܩ. This argument is also beautifully and powerfully urged by Theodoret. Serm. de Provid. 1. Tom. iv. p. 330. C., where it is said to be the *θαλάττιον ὕδωρ, sea-water*, which is so changed, "*εἰς γλυκεῖαν μεταβάλλων ποιότητα.*"—Copied probably from this very place of our Author.

[2] Syr. ܡܫܬ̈ܐ, for ܡܫܬ̈ܐ, the ܐ Iod being often omitted; as in ܐܝ, for ܐܝ, &c. The Greek has "*ὀδμαῖς ἡδείαις.*"

[3] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 526. C. D.

[4] Gr. ib. *εἱμαρμένην.* Syr. ܡܠܟܐ.

[5] Gr. *τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὅλων.* So Euclides of Megara, (Diog. Laërt. in his life) "*οὗτος ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφαίνετο πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον. ὁτὲ μέν γὰρ φρόνησις, ὁτὲ δὲ θεὸν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν, καὶ τὰ λοιπά.*"

with perishable matter; affirm, that He is the medium[6] both of irrational and rational animals, and is comprehended both in those that are mortal, and immortal. But these things they[7] (do).

21. The Divine doctrine, however, declares that He[8] who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named: and, not only that He is elevated above all verbal description, but also above all mental apprehension; that He is neither contained in place, nor existing[9] in body, neither in the heavens, nor in the æther, nor in any one portion of this whole. But that He is at once within, and independent of all, reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. The Divine declarations teach us to recognize Him alone as the God of truth, who is far removed from all essence of body, and a stranger to all service of government. It has, therefore, been delivered to us, that all is *of* Him, but not that it is *by* (or through) Him[10].

22. But He, as a king within the concealment and privacy in which He is incomprehensible, sits in the elevation of His own splendour[11], governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will. For, by His will exists whatsoever does exist; and, had He not (so) willed, neither had it (so) existed. He wills, however, every good thing, because He is also good in His own essential being.

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[6] Gr. *μέσον εἰλῆσθαι*. Syr. ...

[7] The Syriac is elliptical here, and has ..., closely imitating the Greek *Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ταῦτα*.

[8] The Greek has, *τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνώτατον αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον*: which Valesius suggests should be read, *αὐτὸ δὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνώτατον. κ.τ.λ.*, which our Syriac text confirms.

[9] The Greek (ib. p. 527. A.) has *ὄν*: the Syriac, ...

[10] By this is meant, that all is OF the Father as the great source of Divinity; but is BY the Son as the Creator, Upholder, and Governour of all things.

[11] Syr. ... Gr. ib. A. B. *"εἴσω που ἐν ἀῤῥήτοις καὶ ἀδύτοις καὶ ἀβάτοις, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον."*

23. He therefore, *by whom* are all things, THE WORD OF GOD, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain[1], in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also,—that is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing WORD OF GOD, the King of all,—was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air[2]: but THE WORD is living, and is the minister[3] of God who is

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[1] Gr. ib. *ἀνομβρῶν λόγος ἄῤῥητος*: which the Latin translator has entirely omitted. Valesius, however, remarks that *ἀνομβρῶν λόγοις ἀῤῥήτοις*, must be the true reading; and this our translator confirms by giving ܡܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ. See also Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 702. A. seq. Edit. 1629; also Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

[2] So also our Author against Marcellus, Lib. I. p. 5. D. See also the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 105.

[3] The Syr. has here ܦܥܠܐ ܕܥܒܕ, Lit. *Performer, agent.* Castell gives *Episcopus* as the meaning of this word. I could not find a better term than *Minister*, to express our Author's meaning.

over all, and in His essence[4], He is "*the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.*" He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the[5] good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the æther; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals[6], not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are.

24. To some he gives the comforts of a mortal[7] and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as THE WORD OF GOD, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and

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[4] Gr. "κατ' οὐσίαν τε ὑφεστὼς οἷα θεοῦ δύναμις, κ.τ.λ. ib. p. 527. D. The Syr. here, also confirms the emendation of Valesius, as to τὰ σύμπαντα ζῶα." ib. The Latin translation is here inaccurate, in "ac personaliter subsistens."

[5] So Didymus on the Holy Spirit, as preserved in the works of Jerome: "Bonus Dominus noster Jesus Christus ex bono Patre generatus est."

[6] Syr. ܙܘܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ, Lit. life of provisions, by an Hypallage, for ܙܘܢ ܕܚܝܐ. Gr. ζωῆς τε καὶ τροφῆς; which would suggest that ܙܘܢ ܕܚܝܐ was the original reading.

[7] Gr. καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητοῖς, κ.τ.λ. which Valesius emends thus: καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητῆς. κ.τ.λ and which our Syriac confirms.

pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him[1] accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. THE WORD OF GOD (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is "*the Power of God, and the wisdom of God*[2]:" He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God[3], THE WORD. For, "*In the beginning was* THE WORD, *and* THE WORD *was with God*, and THE WORD *was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing*[4]:"—the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching.

25. This is the common Saviour[5] of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops[6]; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty. He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe,

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[1] Gr. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 528. ib. καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀκολούθως, κ.τ.λ., which the Latin makes, "et post se ipsum orta:" which is a comment, and that not a very correct one. Our Syriac renders the place quite literally by ܘܒܬܪܝܗ ܢܦܩܐ ܗܘ: not favourably to the emendation of Valesius.

[2] 1 Cor. i. 24, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 151. D.

[3] Gr. "οὗτος μονογενὴς θεὸς, ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένος λόγος." Our translator seems to have read this last clause thus, ὁ θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένος, ὁ λόγος. Syr. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ. In our Author's letter, as preserved by Theodoret, the words are, ... "τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ." κ.τ.λ. so also in the Nicene Creed, followed by "φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν, ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. Tom. III. pp. 553, 554. Ed. 1642.

[4] John i. 1. cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 150. C. &c.

[5] Gr. laudd. Constant. ib. C. φυτουργός. *Planter.*

[6] Alluding to the distilling of rain, above, Sect. 23.

(and) with His own helm[7] He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art[8], did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit[9], the ONLY (begotten) SON, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul[10], and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational WORD: and (so), by virtue of the DIVINE WORD, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly[11] and colourless, being (Syr. ܐܘܣܝܐ. Gr. *οὔσια*):—by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship[12], as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is THE LIFE, and He is THE LIGHT; the intelligent offspring of THE LIGHT which cannot be described. He too, is ONE in His Essence, even as He is

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[7] Gr. *πηδακιουχῶν*. which the Latin translator has omitted to express. Syr. ܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ.

[8] Gr. *τοιοῦτον καλλιτέχνην υἱὸν. κ.τ.λ.*

[9] The Syriac here confirms the emendation of Valesius, which stands thus, ܐܝܟ ܐܒܐ ܛܒܐ ܕܒܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ. Valesius: *οἷα πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς, ἀγαθὸν ἀπογενήσας καρπόν.* See Sect. 23, note from Didymus, and the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. p. 146. B.

[10] Here again, our Syriac favours the conjecture of Valesius, thus, ܐܝܟ ܕܒܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ. Valesius, *ἅτε ψυχὴν σώματι ἀψύχῳ. κ.τ.λ.*

[11] The Syriac has here, ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ, Gr. *ἀνείδεον*, which, however, the Latin translator has omitted. So Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 702. Ed. 1629, makes Christ the giver of all wisdom to the Greeks.

[12] Gr. *καὶ σκεπτέων*. Syr. ܘܠܡܬܒܨܝ ܠܗ. The Greek is here probably wrong: it has too, a slight addition. See also the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 150. C. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 528. It may be remarked here generally that, as *λόγος* is taken to signify *reason*, we have many allusions to this in this work and elsewhere, where Christ is spoken of under the title of the WORD; intimating that He is the source of every thing that is *rational*. So Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes, p. 62. B. Ed. 1629, "*ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν, ὁ "λόγος αὐτοῦ. καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ γνήσιος, ὁ θεῖος λόγος, φωτὸς "ἀρχέ-*

from One Father. He possesses however many powers (virtues) within His own person. For, we should not suppose that, because the (constituent) parts of the world are many, they therefore constitute many powers[1] (Demons): nor, because the operations are many, we ought therefore, to set up for ourselves many Gods.

26. Those therefore who follow many Gods, commit, as children in soul, a grievous mistake when they make into Gods the (constituent) parts of the Universe, and (virtually) divide the one world into many[2]. As if one should take from the person of a man the eyes only, and then affirm that these were the man; and again, that the ears were another; and so again, the head (another); or, should gradually sever the neck, the breast, the shoulders, the feet, the hands, or the rest of the members; or, that he should (so) divide the faculty of sense by pro-

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"ἀρχέτυπον φῶς· εἰκὼν δὲ τοῦ λόγου, ὁ ἄνθρωπος· ἀληθινὸς νοῦς ὁ "νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν διὰ "τοῦτο γεγενῆσθαι λεγόμενος, τῇ κατὰ καρδίαν φρονήσει τῷ θείῳ "παρεικαζόμενος Λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτῃ λογικός." "Est enim Dei imago "ejus Verbum. Et filius mentis legitimus divinum illud Verbum, lucis "lux archetypa. Verbi autem imago est homo. Vera mens est quæ "in homine est, qui ad Dei imaginem et similitudinem propterea fac-"tus esse dicitur, prudentiæ quæ est in corde, divina ratione assimi-"latus, et ea ratione Verbi rationisque particeps." It is important to bear this in mind, as it will afford a clue, in many instances, to the full sense of the Fathers, and of our Author in particular.

[1] i. e. Deities. See the note of Valesius here, p. 529. A. ib. notes, p. 254.

[2] This place may be adduced to shew how literal our Syrian translator has endeavoured to be, and how very greatly he has distorted the order of his Syriac, in order to suit it to that of his Greek original. The Syriac stands thus: ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܚܕ ܐܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܚܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ. Than which nothing can be more preposterous. The Greek is this: "Δεινὴν δὲ οἷα νήπιοι τὰς ψυχὰς, πολυθέων ἀνδρῶν παῖδες πλάνην ἐπλανηθήσαν, τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς θεοποιήσαντες." Which is not a bad specimen of Eusebius's want of simplicity.—This argument is also given in the Demonst. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. D. seq.

cess of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent) parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods[3].

27. Much[4] worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world,—constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts,—is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine. For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar[5]: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplex. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent[6]. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple,

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[3] This is imitated very beautifully by Theodoret in his first Sermon on Providence, near its commencement.

[4] Our Syriac does not exactly follow the Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant.) here.

[5] Anaxagoras imagined that the origin of all things consisted of *similar* parts. (Plutarch, p. 876. Vol. II. Edit. 1620.). His theory is manifestly taken from the Bible. He says, Ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διῆρε, καὶ διεκόσμησε. *All things were* (confused) *together:* but MIND *divided and adorned them:* i. e. the "*Spirit*" of the Bible. Zeno too, according to Aristotle, argued thus, (cited at § 30. infra.)

[6] We have some things here not given in the Greek, (Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 529. B.)—This argument is briefly urged by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christianis, p. 55. Edit. 1624.

and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational; in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded[1]; (placed) beyond, and far removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says: "*The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings*[2]." But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of THE WORD. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His ONLY (begotten) WORD, He is truly styled THE FATHER. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone[3]; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the ONLY (begotten), the Saviour of all, the one WORD of God, who (is) through all[4].

28. This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions:

[1] Our text here exceeds that of the Orat. de laudd. Constant.

[2] This, according to Valesius (Notes on the place, p. 254—5), is nothing more than a paraphrastical interpretation of John i. 1. adduced above, sect. 24.

[3] It may perhaps be supposed that our author shews his Arian propensity here. But the same might be said of Justin Martyr, and, indeed, of the Fathers generally, if this were allowed. See Whitby on Eph. iv. 6. and the note on Book ii. sect. 3. below.

[4] Syr. ܥܒܪ ܒܟܠ. Gr. ὁ διὰ πάντων. The Latin has, "*per cuncta permanans.*" This phrase occurs in the N. Test. (Eph. iv. 6. alluded to probably here), and is usually taken as signifying *through*, i.e. permeating; or the like. Theodoret appears to have had the same feeling on this passage; for he says, τὸ δὲ "διὰ πάντων" τὴν πρόνοιαν, i.e. by διὰ πάντων, he points out *the Providence* (of God): in other words, his care for all. The Syriac Peschito, and Philoxenian N. T., render the passage (Eph. iv. 6.) by the same Syriac phrase.

—of acute and grave, lax and intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the Musician. Such then is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is moreover a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all[5].

29. But the Divine Word has not been constituted of parts, nor has it been compounded of any opposing (nature), nor does it consist of (either) part or compound[6]; but both wisely and well does He in every thing resemble His Father; and to the King of all does He give back the praise[7], which to Him is both suitable and due. (And) as in one body there are many parts, members, viscera, and bowels, collected together, and one invisible soul (only) is diffused through all; and one is the mind which (consists) of neither body nor parts; so also (we say) of this one world, which is constituted of many parts. So also the Word of God, manifold in power and Almighty, is one extended into all things, and is invisibly[8] diffused throughout them: and of all, in which He (thus) subsists, He is the (efficient) Cause.

30. Do you not see with your eyes[9], that one heaven surrounds the whole world? and that many orders of stars revolve in this? And again, (that) there is one sun, not many? and that this eclipses the splendour of them all by its superior light? So likewise is there one Father, the Word of whom also is one, who must be the good

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[5] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.D. In the next paragraph, too, we have, Gr. διὰ πάντων ἥκων, which our Translator renders by ⸗ ⸗. In this place, the Greek has a few additions.

[6] Our Syriac has no term here answering to the ἀνακρούεται of the Greek. Ib. D.

[7] Syr. ⸗. Gr. μελωδίαν.

[8] The Greek text has ἁπλανῶς here, which Valesius thinks (p. 255), should be ἀφανῶς, and thus our translator must have read it; for he gives ⸗.

[9] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 153. B. C. seq.

offspring of the good Father. If therefore any one complain, that there are not many Sons; so should he also complain, that many suns, moons, and worlds, are not established, and at many other things, after the manner of madmen, who endeavour to subvert those of nature which are right and good. But, as in things visible, one sun gives light to the whole sensible world; so also in things intellectual, the one WORD OF GOD, filled with all power, secretly and (in a manner) imperceptible to us, gives light to all. For Why should many suns be required, when one is sufficient to effect every thing? And again, What need can there be of many Sons of God, when the ONE, the only (begotten), is sufficient to effect the will of His Father? For, if there were many, then would they be either similar, or dissimilar[1]. And if they were similar, then would their multiplicity be in vain; because one Effectuator, and this Almighty, would be sufficient for the performance and due ordering of all. But the WORD OF GOD, and the WISDOM OF GOD, which is ONE in its essence[2], brings along with it the light, and the life, and (indeed) all the fulness of goodness. The multitude (then) of those who were (thus) vainly, and not well joined together in a power that were similar, could have no advantage. But, if it were necessary they should be dissimilar, How then could that which were dissimilar, or incomplete and defective in its nature, be on the

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[1] There is much reasoning of this sort in Aristotle's Tract on Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias; and which cannot but be read with interest here, particularly the part on Zeno. See also Diog. Laërt. Life of Plato near the end. This same argument is also urged by Lactantius, Lib. I. cap. iii. A little lower down, cap. v., he shews how some of the greatest poets and philosophers taught, that ONE supreme God formed and governed all things. Among the poets, Orpheus, Virgil, Ovid, &c.: among the philosophers, Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Antisthenes, &c. See also Prep. Evan. Lib. IX. capp. ix.–xiii. Ib. Lib. III. capp. ix. xii. xiii. &c.

[2] The Syr. stands thus, ... where the latter terms might be taken as referring to the Father. If this had been the intention of the author, I think it would have been thus expressed, . Besides, it is the ONENESS of The Son, on which the argument here proceeds.

other hand[3] an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is born of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many Words of God. On the contrary, The God who is of God is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence[4], as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to be sufficient for the adorning of all things.

31. Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending[5] many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or guide it, or build[6] (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometrician, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians[7]; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences[8] in man, because of his ca-

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[3] As this place is obscure, I give the Syriac which stands thus: ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܗܘ ܫܠܡ ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ. The Greek of this passage does not occur in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. nor any part of it from the words "His Father," &c. above.

[4] Heb. i. 3.

[5] Syr. ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. Gr. δημιουργός. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 531. B. The passage also occurs in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 151. D. seq. Edit. 1628.

[6] Gr. ἢ αὐτῇ καὶ ναυπηγεῖν, καὶ κυβερνᾶν, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν. Our text has probably lost the term ܒܢܐ here.

[7] Our Syriac here observes a different interpunctuation from that of the Gr. Demonstr. Evang. ib.

[8] Syr. ܡܗܘܬܐ. Gr. οὐσίας. Lat. trans. "substantias," malè. The essences here meant are *intelligent* as being of various sorts; not that of *matter*, as derived from the earth.

pability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers[1]? We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole:—

32. So also, of this universal world which is one[2], consisting nevertheless of many parts, it cannot be right to erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the ONE who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding[3] (power): Him (I say) who is in truth "THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD;" who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole[4]; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of

[1] The Syr. ܐܝܟ ܠܐ may here be read either ܐܝܟ ܠܐ, or ܠܐ ܐܝܟ. The first would make the sentence interrogatory, as I have translated it; the second would make it a direct negation: either of which supplies the true force to the place. The following ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ, however, seems to require the former. The Gr. reads the former; χρή.

[2] So Plato as cited. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xiii. from the Timæus.

[3] Gr. παναρμόνιον. Ib. p. 530. D. Syr. ܕܟܠܝܢ ܣܓܝ. In this, as in many other instances, the poverty of the Syriac language is too apparent not to be felt. By *compounds*, or *compositions*, is necessarily meant here, such things as agreeing together, may be considered as constituting a sort of harmony, in opposition to the "*faulty and excellent*," mentioned above, sect. 27. See also sect. 29.

[4] Syr. ܡܫܒܚ. Gr. θεολογεῖν. Our translator probably read ὁμολογεῖν here. This occurs again (Prep. Evang. Lib. III. cap. xiii. p. 118. D.), and there has θεολογεῖν. Which is translated by "*Divino nomine celebrare.*" Nevertheless ὁμολογεῖν occurs, Demonstr. Evan. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 152. B.

these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence[5].

33. So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world[6], and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things[7]. All these things it completes in a momentary period[8] of nature. Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) as to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax[9], to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things.

34. So likewise THE WORD OF GOD, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all[10], is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable[11], the Sun, the Heavens,

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[5] Syr. ܩܝܡܐ, occurs in Castell, but without any meaning attached to it. Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. Ib. p. 531. A.) *χορηγίαν*.

[6] This last sentence is not found in the Greek.

[7] Alluding to Ps. xix. 4—6.

[8] Gr. *ῥοπῇ*. Syr. ܫܥܐ. Minutum, scrupulum horarium.

[9] Syr. ܫܥܘܐ. Gr. *κηρόν*. This also occurs, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 152. C.D. and Theod. Serm. I. de Provid. l. c.

[10] Syr. ܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܡܫܠܛ ܘܡܬܦܫܛ ܒܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ, is in the Greek (laudd. Constant. p. 531. A.B. and Demonstr. Evang. p. 152. C.) *ὁ διὰ πάντων ἥκων*. Which is much the same with, *διὰ πάντων χωρῶν*, Syr. ܕܥܒܪ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ, a little lower down. By ܒܟܠ ܕܥܒܪ, therefore our translator intends to express the Greek *διὰ πάντων*: as remarked above, p. 18, note.

[11] *ἀῤῥήτοις δυνάμεσι*: and so our Syriac ܒܚܝܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠ. Valesius's emendation (p. 255.), therefore, which proposes *ἀῤῥήτων λόγων δυνάμεσι*, is not here countenanced. So Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 711. "*οὕτως ὁ λόγος πάντῃ κεχυμένος, καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν τοῦ βίου πράξεων ἐπιβλέπει.*" "ita Verbum undiquaque effusum vel minima respicit ex iis quæ in vita geruntur."

and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance[1] to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power; and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the workmanship of the ONE WORD, the Maker of the world[2].

35. Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF the GOD of all, of whom one discoursing on God[3] thus mysteriously speaks: "*He*[4] *was in the world, and the world was* (made) *by Him; and the world knew Him not.*" For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is

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[1] Gr. *οὐσίαν*. Syr. ܐܝܬܘܬܐ. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. V. p. 153. A. where this passage occurs, we have *οὐσίας*.

[2] Our Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant.) leaves us here, and does not join us again till we come to Book II. Sect. 3.

[3] Syr. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ, a paraphrase for *Theologian*: a title very applicable to St John, who spoke much of the Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[4] John i. 10. with the Peschito.

governed by one Ruler[5], (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it.

36. This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to THE DIVINE WORD; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this; which is matter,—is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being[6]. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of this, some are in the heavens and the æther[7],—those among these being distinct, and different;—some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this[8].

37. This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually

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[5] Syr. ܙܥܝ ܥܡ ܥܡܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܒܕ. The last word of which ought probably, to be ܥܒܕ; the ܙܥܝ preceding requiring the passive voice, unless indeed this form is capable of a passive sense, of which I know no example.

[6] Alluding to the reasoning of Plato, see Book II. § 33. seq.

[7] See the Note to sect. 41. below.

[8] So also Aristotle, Lib. de Juventute et Senectute, cap. ii. "Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ θρεπτικὴν ψυχήν, ἐνεργείᾳ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν, εἶναι μίαν· δυνάμει δὲ πλείους." "Necesse autem est, ut anima vegetatrix in habentibus, actu simplex unáque sit, potentia multiplex ac plures."

name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the houses of some of which have been distinguished (as) apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many. Some again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers of the middle portions[1]. Others again, are far distant from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally) and their various assemblies[2]. Many are (thus) the stations in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in the æther, and in the air above the earth. The habitable

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[1] The Syriac has ܡܨܥ̈ܐ. But as this last word does not occur in the Syriac lexicons in the sense necessary here, I have taken the Heb. and Chald. חצה, as the root. And, as the inner courts have just been mentioned, and the outer ones occur immediately after, I have thought it likely, that *middle* or *intermediate* was the sense intended here. If we suppose ܡܨܥ, *dorsum, femur*, &c. to be the word, the general sense will be much the same. So the Hebrew יָרֵךְ, יְרֵכָה, and יְרֻכָה; and the Latin *dorsum*.

[2] Our Author knew how to accommodate his reasoning to the class of readers whom he was addressing, who were the classical scholars of his day.—Homer's councils of the Gods gave the first outline perhaps of the sketch given here: so Ovid—

> Hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis,
> Regalemque domum; Dextra lævaque Deorum
> Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.
> Plebs habitant diversa locis: a fronte potentes
> Cœlicolæ, clarique suos posuere Penates.
> Hic locus est; quem, si verbis audacia detur,
> Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia cœli.
>
> *Metam.* i. l. 170. seq.

The Stoïcs in like manner affirm, that the world is a sort of city, consisting both of Gods and men: the Gods being the rulers, men the subjects, &c. "*οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος, οἱονεὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐκ Θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνεστῶσα, τῶν μὲν Θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων, κ.τ.λ.* From the epitome of Arius Didymus. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv. so also Philo, ib. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. Ed. Viger. p. 704. making the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, &c. a sort of ministry to the whole. A passage similar to this

part of the earth, (assigned) to those who walk upon it, is this broad space known to us all. Those (places) however which are beyond the heavens, are (exalted) above all mental apprehension, as are those also which are distinguished as inner apartments of the divine house of rule. But those (beings) who surround the King of all, and exult at the side of THE DIVINE WORD, are both enlightened and upholden by means of the rays which are drawn forth from Him, as from unfailing fountains of light; and are established in the fulness of light. (Thus) too all the enlightened, with the incorporeal assemblies of light, hold that rank of station which is beyond the heavens, and honour with the highest praises, (and) which are worthy of God, the God who is King of all. [3]In the midst moreover, has He cast (spread) forth the vast heavens, the curtains (as it were) of the azure threshold, which exclude those who are without from the mansion of rule; while the keepers of the intermediate part perform (their) rounds in this, as being without the gate, with those who in the heavens are

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is also to be found in the Oration of our Author, "de laudibus Constantini," cap. i. near the beginning. The most complete discussion on this subject is, perhaps, cap. vi. of Aristotle's Liber de mundo. See also Plato's *heavenly earth*. Prep. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. xxxvii.

[3] This passage has been introduced into the Oratio de laudd. Constant. cap. i. p. 499. C. D. And, as it is extraordinary, and not very clear, I give both the Syriac and Greek of it: ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܒܡܨܥܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܪܡ ܫܪ ܠܟܠ ܕܟܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ

invested with light[1] and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions, modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour, as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west; the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the

[1] Syr. ܒܢܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܢܘܗܪ ܘܒܗ ܢܗܝܪ ܟܠ ܥܠܡ: not unlike Aristotle's (Lib. de mundo, cap. ii.)... *τὸ ἀνώτατον θεοῦ οἰκητήριον, οὐρανὸς ὠνόμασται, πλήρης δὲ ὧν σωμάτων θείων, ἃ δὴ καλεῖν ἄστρα εἰώθαμεν.*" ..."Id quod in celsissimo loco situm est, Cœlum dicitur, Dei domicilium. Hoc cùm divinis corporibus plenum sit, quæ sidera nos appellare solemus."

vulgar; and others are considered as in the place of enemies and haters: still, the whole of these are men, and one is the common species of them all. Over them all too, is there one king, one only power, vested with his own authority which is all-supreme. And to this same, according to the law and edict of the state,—to him alone, the Father and Lawgiver,—is (the title of) great king ascribed: while He (the WORD) descending from above, and running (as it were) throughout the whole of the governours and governed, subjects to the one yoke of rule every race (placed) under his hand; elevating some to the highest honour, and to others rendering that which is their due[2].

38. As it is with these things, (so) one is the generating, intelligent, and rational Essence which is over all. And well might it be said, that one is the kind (genus) even of these, and that they all are nothing more than brethren (derived) from one, as made of Him who is the Father of THE WORD OF GOD[3]. There are then, multitudes of nations, and of kinds (of these); and there is a portion the more virtuous, and the contrary. The differences too of these, as to mind (opinion) are innumerable, as are the fashions, modes of life, constitutions, and the contrary; but not as to their natures, for the nature of them all is one, and the kind is one. It is of the variety of their wills, that they have found out many and different fashions and modes of life. Hence, are the companies of angels, of spirits, and of incorporeal and invisible powers; some of which are resplendent and glorious, as enlightened by the splendour of THE DIVINE WORD; others are dark, blacker than any Ethiopian, and

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[2] Much to the same effect though not so full, Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 704. who compares the all-pervading power of Christ to that of a magnet acting upon a series of iron rings, and affecting at once both the least and the greatest.

[3] The Syriac is ambiguous here ܐܝܟ ܕܐܒ ܒܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ, which may mean, either as given in the text, or, *as being made by its Father, who is the Word of God:* ascribing the creation of all, as is frequently the case in this work, to Christ. I think the former, however, more likely to be the true meaning.

destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite deserving of the middle place, as capable at once of both the excellent and the base. But the King is one, that ONLY power which is God above all, both of those who are in the heavens, and above the heavens. And He it is who holds by the law and edict of sovereign rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This law and edict is moreover one, (viz.) He who lives in all, THE WORD OF GOD, the minister, (lit. agent): not as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the mouth of mortals into the air[1]; but is,—as it has now been made known to us (by the Gospel)—of things (in their nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and power. He (I say) who, as THE WORD OF GOD, distributes fully and in justice to all, the things which are most suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the contrary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all—like those who are on the earth,—to reside in different localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; to others, to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all: —(all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and in the mind of their nature, that they should confess that ONE, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign rule, who is the only (begotten) WORD,—Him "*who is the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature*[2]"—as the divine words mysteriously teach.

39. And to the honouring of Him are all, whether the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth in pictures (or images,), but within, on the hearts of their

[1] To the same effect, our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. 1. cap. i. p. 4. C. seq.

[2] Col. i. 15.

intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and "*Rulers of this world*," who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule[3], and put forth various books in the place of others[4]; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law[5]. But far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and served the creatures, more than the Creator of these[6].

40. And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such). And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the WORD, the Saviour of all;—Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of

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[3] Syr. lit. who have assimilated to themselves the Image of fraudulent rule. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܨܠܡܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܬܕܡܘ ܠܗܘܢ, which is only a peculiar way of making the comparison: the Person meant is Satan, as opposed to Christ.

[4] The Syriac is peculiar here, and stands thus: ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܕܫܩܪ̈ܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܕܫܩܝ̈ܪ: a practice common to many of the early heretics.

[5] Syr. ܕܫܡܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܫ ܘܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܘ may signify, *that description of name which is contained in the Law:* i. e. God. But, as ܫܡܐ is rarely taken in a passive sense, I have preferred the rendering given in the text. Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 17, as cited by Castell.

[6] Alluding to Rom. i. 25.

the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the Divine Word which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with the Divine Word, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot. And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to The Word, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all: which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God[1]: "*Praise ye God* "*from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise* "*him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts.* "*Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and* "*light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens.*" After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: "*Praise ye God from the earth* (all)" other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man,—this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various companies and orders of rank,—in this manner:—"*Praise him ye kings of the earth, and all*

[1] Cited from the cxlviiith Psalm, with a few variations from the text of the Peschito.

"*people: ye great, and all ye judges of the earth: young*
"*men and maidens: old men with children. Let them*
"*praise the name of the Lord; for great is his name*
"*alone; and his praise is in the earth, and in the*
"*heavens.*"

41. With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God,—(to) Him who is beyond all the heavens above,—do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of æther[2], and form a crown (as it were) to Him;—the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air,—proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming.

42. How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits,

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[2] Syr. ܐܣܛܕܝܘܢ, lit. In the Stadia: i. e. places appointed for racing. The æther has been usually supposed to constitute that portion of the upper regions which approximates to that of the fixed stars: by some it has been thought to consist of fire, by others of a very subtile fluid. Aristotle's opinion may perhaps, be taken here as the most authoritative. He says, then, (Lib. de Mundo, cap. ii.), "*οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄστρων οὐσίαν μὲν, αἰθέρα καλοῦμεν, οὐχ ὥς τινες, διὰ τὸ πυρώδη οὖσαν, αἴθεσθαι, πλημμελοῦντες περὶ τὴν πλείστην πυρὸς ἀπηλλαγμένην δύναμιν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ θεῖν κυκλοφορουμένην στοιχεῖον οὖσαν ἕτερον τῶν τεσσάρων, ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον.*" "Cœli porrò siderumque substantiam appellamus ætherem: non quidem ideo quod ignita flagret ipsa, ut aliqui censuerunt, plurimum utique aberrantes circa potentiam illam maximè ab ignea natura abhorrentem: origine verò hujus vocabuli inde ducta, quod semper æther currat motu circumductili: cùm sit illud elementum à quatuor illis diversum; tum divinum, tum interitus expers."

should stand alone, in withholding its meed of praise? Or, that the life which is (passed) on the earth, bearing every sort of fruit, should be barren as to (that of) the intelligent creature? Would it not rather appear that this would seem good to Him,—who is the fulness of all wisdom, the Maker of all,—that He should for His own sake, sow this locality of earth with beings intelligent and rational? and should, for the use of these, provide the rest of the creatures, as also that which is generative of fruits and flowers? And that He should here also join the praise of men, to that which is rendered by the companies of all (else), to His own Father? And this was so done in former times:—this, that man, who had been made in the image of God[1], honoured with hymns and songs THE WORD, his Father, together with the divine and rational assemblies, and with the several orders of angels. His mind had not then erred in the setting up of inanimate images under the phantasms of demoniacal deception, nor under the stories of error common to polytheism: for these things recently, and after a time, became known through the vain babblings of the poets[2]. Those primitive chiefs of our race, who hitherto had not learned the arts of modelling, hewing, and carving, and had made no use of this extreme metal-working art of evil deeds, called upon the Maker of the whole universe and their Lord, in the simplicity of their souls, and in the mind of their (unsophisticated) nature: and Him alone did they confess, in their instruction which was mental[3], to be the Lord and God of all. And as these did, so did the chief of our nature (Adam), as also did the Hebrew race, which was in ancient times beloved of God, and received,

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[1] Gen. i. 27, 1 Cor. xi. 7. The argument shewing that revealed religion is much more ancient than the vanities of idolatry is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. iv. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. i. p. 302. A. seq.

[2] Syr. ܚܙܝܐ ܘܚܫܘܫܝ. To the same effect Theodoret, Serm. on Providence, Tom. iv. p. 321.

[3] Syr. ܒܬܘܟܠ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܥܝܢ, lit. *in the doctrine of their mind:* which, as it is intended to be opposed to image worship, seems to me to imply doctrine mentally received and applied.

as a son from his father, the good inheritance of the observances of the fear of God. But these honoured nothing with purity of life, and with the observances of the fear of God, except the one God, the King who is above all, and His Word who is the Saviour of all. On this account, they were considered worthy of the revelation of the Word of God, of prophecy, and of the doctrines of righteousness.

43. Thus therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, the Maker of all things, fills, with His seed of intelligent and rational being, all parts and places that are above the world, that are in the heavens, and on this element of earth. That seed then, which falls upon the earth, constituting the intelligent and rational plant, is itself the knowledge which belongs to man, (and) which is now contained in the multifarious stem and herbage (as it were) of an earthly and perishable body: many stars of the life which is mortal surrounding it. If then, an enlightened cultivation meet it, so that it be cleansed from the obstinacy of matter, and recognize the Sower, THE WORD, who is above the heavens, and henceforth render praise to Him, meditating as a child on His primitive teaching, and in due time rendering the corn-ears of its superiority, the complete fruit of its rational nature; it shall as in the time of harvest lay down, by the death of the life which is mortal, those luxuriances of the stem that are without, together with the earthly and corruptible clothing of the body, which it shall have now well employed for the growth and perfection of the fruit. And happily shall it put off this in due time. The same too, as he becomes more excellent, and collects the powers of his superiority into the treasury of things that are good, is preserved (as) the perfect, that with the perfect he may be led on. To Him also, who is the Sower and the Cultivator of all, he renders the perfect fruit of that praise which is due to God. And, because he has in this life recognized Him alone as his Father, King, and Lord, and has, together with his relative and sister beings (already mentioned), confessed Him alone to be God, his Maker and Creator; He will,—that he also may (as) in the place of the society which is more excellent, exalt and honour Him with the

honour that is becoming and just,—not name any other thing God, which it is not right should be called God, but Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony; Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible,—even as He alone is the efficient Cause of all,—names its God, and whom it worships.

44. These things then being such, let us now again approach our subject afresh, as already laid down. These heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and) which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect in their nature from those inanimate elements which are in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire. But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city should be considered as of the same material; nor is it, that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be affirmed to be the seed of THE WORD OF GOD, the Creator of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to partake in things most excellent. Because things prior in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And the first things were those generated of THE WORD: after these, those that are irrational. After the primary essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed (these as) causes. But these primitive ones,—the origin of production,—exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also prepared. For it was necessary, that a sufficient house or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the people of this city, who were both above it and in it; and the curvatures[1] within the heavens, for those inha-

[1] This expression will be understood, when it is considered that the ancients supposed the heavens to consist of sphere upon sphere, encircling each other, like the coats of an onion.

bitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being[2] of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults[3]; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him.

45. The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man. Man is therefore the progeny of the DIVINE WORD; not for the sake of any other thing, but

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[2] Syr. ܕܚܝܘܬܗ ܕܒܥܝܪܐ ܕܒܗܡ.

[3] "Shares with his lord the pleasure and the ride."—POPE.

This argument is similarly urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna,) p. 98. Edit. 1620.) "*καὶ νοῦς ὁρῇ, καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά... οὕτως ἕνεκα τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἰ μὴ νοῦν μηδὲ λόγον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἂν διέφερε τῷ βίῳ τῶν θηρίων, νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως περίεσμεν αὐτῶν, καὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Προμηθεὺς, τουτέστιν ὁ λογισμὸς, αἴτιος.*

"Ἵππων ὄνων τ' ὀχεῖα, καὶ ταύρων γονὰς
Δοὺς ἀντίδωρα, καὶ πόνων ἐκδέκτορα.—κατ' Αἰσχύλον."

"Mens enim videt, mens audit, reliqua cæca sunt, et surda... ita præstare reliqui sensus non possent absque mens esset et ratio, ut reliquis animalibus anteiret homo. Nunc quod potiores sumus, iisque imperamus, non casu aut fortuito fit, sed Prometheus, id est rationis usus, hoc efficit.

Fœtus equorum, asinorumque, et boum genus,
Munera rependens, quæ nostris laboribus
Subeunt,—ut est apud Æschylum."

for that (only) of his Father, The Word; in order that he might see, and by his knowledge distinguish, all the wisdom of his Father, which (consists) in the workmanship visible throughout all creation; and that he should assimilate himself to this same, while hitherto youthful, and should in every thing emulate his Father, as to law, reason, knowledge, and wisdom; should live as taught, (that he is) the image of excellence; and should learn that, together with the companies that are in heaven, he should, as a prophet and priest, send up from the earth those praises which are due to the King of all, and to God who is the Cause of all.

46. In representations not unlike these therefore, does The Word, the instructor of all nature,—wondering at the various excellency of the nature that is in man,—cry out, and say in the divine praises, "*What*[1] *is man that Thou* "*art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou* "*visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the* "*Angels: with honour and glory hast Thou clothed him,* "*and hast given him dominion*[2] *over the work of thy* "*hands, and hast placed all beneath his feet: all flocks* "*and herds; even the wild beasts of the desert, and the* "*birds that are in the heavens, and the fishes of the sea,* "*which dwell in the paths of the sea.*"

47. It is this rational species alone, beloved of God, of those that are on earth, respecting which another prophet speaking of God, teaches, thus plainly (but) mysteriously, that in his essence he is in the image of God: "*And* "*God said, Let us make man in our Image, according* "*to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the* "*fishes that are in the sea, and over the fowl of the* "*heavens, and over the beasts, and over all the earth,* "*and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the* "*earth.*" And to the word He also added the deed: "*So* "*God made man,*" and said that He made him in the image of God. And again more particularly, He established (the fact) that the image was in the likeness of God, from

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[1] Ps. viii. 5. varying in some respects from the text of the Peschito.

[2] MS. ܐܬܪܗܡܟ, a manifest error, for ܐܬܪܗܝܟ.

the Divine inbreathing, when He said, "*And he breathed* "*into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became* "*a living soul*[3]." He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, *Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things*, (and) *the animals.* And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature. But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances,—or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body,—should consist of this possible excellence,—this, I say,—that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is?—this, that it should deliver instruction by memory?—this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing; you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might

[3] Gen. ii. 7.

be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational animals; that like these[1] we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements. Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, be-

[1] Syr. ܗܠܝܢ ,ܗܠܟܡ. This variety also occasionally occurs in ܗܢܘ, for ܗܢܝ: which is rare, and is perhaps an imitation of the Arabic, هناك, ذلك, &c. in which the pronoun ك, or كى is suffixed.

hold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, "*The human race is infirm*[2]." Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named "*the Seers*[3]?" And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by those that attack him? Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal

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[2] Syr. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܠܫܝܢ ܘܣܓܝܐܝ ܐܢܘܢ. Similar, though not identical, sentiments will be found in extracts given by Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 492. Edit. 1629; by Theodoret, Gr. Affect. curat. Serm. I. p. 477. Edit. 1642. Ib. Edit. Gaisford, p. 193. The nearest is, perhaps, to be found in a Fragment of Menander preserved by Plutarch, (De consolat. ad Apoll. p. 103. Edit. 1620.)

> ....." *ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὂν (ζῷον) Φύσει.*"
> ....." *cum sit infirmissimum* (animal) *Natura.*"

Another not unlike it is (ib. p. 104) cited from Homer:

> "*Οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρωπόιο.*"
> "*Nil homine in terris infirmius ætheris aura vescitur.*"

[3] The word, used here in the original work, was, no doubt *Δορκάς*: on which Bochart has the following note. Hieron. I. Lib. III. cap. xxv. (p. 925). "Damir. بحدة البصر. توصف الظبا. (Our Syriac word is, ܕܚܙܝ.) *Capræ describuntur acutissimi visus.* Unde illis inditum *δορκάδων* Græcum nomen. Etymologus, *Δορκὰς παρὰ τὸ δέρκω τὸ βλέπω· ὀξυδερκὲς γὰρ τὸ ζῶον, καὶ εὐόμματον*, &c. The same argument, generally, is urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna, p. 98. D.) where Plato is cited as saying, that man alone is left by nature naked, unarmed, &c.—"*γυμνος καὶ ἄνοπλος καὶ ἀνυπόδετος καὶ ἄστρωτος ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπολέλειπται.*"

strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despisest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name *irrational*, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all[1]?

48. Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth,—he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chace; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, he confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport.

49. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices.

50. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and

[1] Matter, in some respects similar to this, will be found in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. v. p. 509. B. seq. and Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. seq.

usages of the irrational animals. For these, destitute (as they are) of knowledge, avail themselves of the aid of nature alone, and receive their provision from the stem, unprepared by agriculture, and uncleansed from the weed[2]. He however, by his knowledge cleanses (this); thus too does he pulverize, fully season, and make it well to pass the fire. Of the wheat also he will, whenever he pleases, make bread. He is moreover, careful so to provide, that a healthy provision of food may be secured. And every profitable commodity, either of the vine, the olive, or of the fruit tree of every flavour, does he appropriate; and these does he alone apply to the sanative uses of the body.

51. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, has, by means of rule and reason, discovered that mode of life which is regular and orderly:—has become a leader of armies; has engaged in the public conflicts, and in the subsidiary arts: and these very many (things), pertaining to doctrine, has he, by his rational superiority, put forth.

52. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, preserving (in himself) the model of excellence, has determined the measure, the weights, the extents, and several sorts, of justice. He too, distinguishes,—governing (all) by reason,—the things which should, and should not, be done: and (hence) he knows, how to give to every one, as it shall be right. The fishes however, the birds, and the animals, will devour one another: because no law (prevails) among them. But to men has (God) given justice, which is their supreme excellence, as says one of the poets[3], (and) according to my opinion, extremely well.

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[2] Syr. ܟܣܐ, lit. *grass*.

[3] There is a passage in Plutarch very nearly allied to this, who probably has in view the same poet (Pindar), it is as follows: "*ὅτι γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰατρεία, δίκη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσαγορευομένη, πασῶν ἐστι τεχνῶν μεγίστη, πρὸς μυρίοις ἑτέροις καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἀριστοτέχναν ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἁπάντων θεὸν, ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργὸν, ἣ προσήκει, τὸ πότε, καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἕκαστον τῶν πονηρῶν, ὁρίζειν.*"

"Medicinam

53. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of THE WORD OF GOD, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God's just Judge[1], duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others.

54. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree[2]. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas).

55. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit of the sun[3], the moon, and the stars, foretells[4] what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times.

"Medicinam enim animæ, quæ Justitia cognominatur, omnium esse artium maximam, præter sexcentos alios etiam Pindarus testatur, principem et dominum omnium deum appellans Aristotechnam, id est, artificum præstantissimum: quippe justitiæ administratorem, quæ jus habet determinandi quando, quomodo, et quatenus quilibet malorum sit puniendus." It is not improbable, I think, that our author had this place in his eye when he wrote the above paragraph. Clemens Alexand. also cites the place in Pindar, Strom. Lib. v. p. 598. B. but in a different sense. Plutarch. de his qui sero, &c. ib. p. 550. A.

[1] That is, considering Christ as appointed the final Judge of all, man here acts like him.

[2] i. e. the section of a tree formed into a boat, as was much the case in former times. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 35. A.

[3] The MS. has, ܫܡܝܐ, the heavens, which is a manifest error for ܫܡܫܐ.

[4] The reading ought I think, to be, ܥܒܕ ܕܡܝ ܥܡ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ; that is, transposing ܣܗܪܐ, and placing next to ܕܡܝ, and then considering the following matter as all belonging to the two closing terms ܐܪܥܐ ܥܡ: and so I have translated it.

56. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is viewed (as) the assistant of nature; has discovered the means of healing; and has, by his understanding, applied (to this) the powers of roots, and of drugs, with their combination and mixture by weight and due proportion. He too has become skilful in the healing of infirm bodies, and the helps of the life of man.

57. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, not having arrived at the manner of life of the graminivorous (animals), has well applied (himself) to (the requirements of his own) nature. In the winter season he accordingly casts the seed into the earth; and, applying the sweat of his labour[5] to agriculture, is repaid in the autumn with the fruits consequent upon his toil.

58. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, collects together, by (his) rational knowledge, the doctrines relating to all (things); the science and composition of music, as well as (that of) investigation by discussion. He also proceeds on to the manner of life, and to the fame attendant on philosophy; and (thus) he hastens forward the love of that superiority, which is vested within him: availing himself, not of the bodily sense, but of the faculty of knowledge, and of the stimulating power of reason.

59. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, bears about him, by means of his memory, the histories of things done[6] in former times; converses with those who are (now) no more, as with those who are at hand: examines the opinions of the wise who have existed at any period; and from these, rather than from those who are his contemporaries, does he receive profit. And (thus) by the faculty of reason,—cognate with that of thought,—does he exist with those who have long ceased to be.

60. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, duly regulates the voice of the chant, by the divisions

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[5] Syr. ܕܥܒܕ ܕܝܥܬܗ ܕܥܒܕ, lit. the labour of his sweat, by an hypallage. See my Heb. Gram. Art. 224. 7.

[6] Syr. ܕܒܪܝܬ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ. It should be observed, that our MS. never gives the fem. form as ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ, because, perhaps, the pronunciation is not affected by it.

of the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns[1], as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present.

61. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours; as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God.

62. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and,—like God,—will allow the heavens whose revolutions

[1] Syr. ܘܒܗܦܟܬܐ ܘܒܓܠܠܐ ܕܫܡܗ. The two last words are mere terms of grammar, as may be seen in Ameira. Gram. Syr. Romæ, 1596. pp. 56. 251.

are above the earth, and with the universal whole,—and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle,—to revolve with the things that are on the earth, (in) the similitude which is of earthly material. The angel of the seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice, and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors, too, at the coming in of the seasons[2], throw themselves open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere), speak out in chirpings[3]. The moon also which is on the earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the (mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and the human-made world contends with (that of) the workmanship of THE WORD OF GOD!

63. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can, by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable to God, and by virtue of the fear of God, (evinced) both in word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of concealed demons[4]. But further, when he had even departed

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[2] Syr. ⟨ܫܥܬܐ. lit. *hours*, a literal translation, in all probability, of the Greek ὧραι, signifying *seasons*.

[3] One would think from this, that the ancient Astrolabes were furnished with an apparatus for the purpose of exhibiting animated nature, while they presented the places and groups of the stars; not unlike, perhaps, our modern Orreries, supposing them accompanied by a sort of cuckoo-clock. Lactantius thus describes the sphere of Archimedes, Lib. II. cap. v. p. 115. Ed. 1698. "An Archimedes siculus concavo ære similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari, in quo ita solem, ac lunam composuit, ut inæquales motus et cœlestibus similes, conversionibus singulis quasi diebus efficerent: et non modo accessus solis, et recessus, vel incrementa, diminutionesque lunæ, vel etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium vel vagarum, dispares cursus, orbis ille dum vertitur exhiberet," &c. According to the Greeks the sphere was invented by Anaximander: Diog. Laërt. in the life of this philosopher.

[4] So Porphyry, Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. "καί εἰσιν...ἀόρατοί τε, καὶ τελείως ἀναίσθητοι αἰσθήσεσιν ἀνθρωπίναις." "Qui...nec oculis, nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt." Eusebius, perhaps, first alludes here to the practice of Exorcism, as had recourse to in the

from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive[1] of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such.

64. Man alone shews of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried

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the primitive Church: see Suiceri Thesaurus, sub voce, Ἐξορκισμός.—There was moreover, a very general belief that a sort of magic virtue consisted in the pronunciation of certain words. Origen (contra Cels. Lib. v. pp. 261—2) tells us that any name, or word, having effect in incantations, if changed or translated into any other language, immediately lost its whole magical efficacy. His instances are, *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:* the names *Israel, Adonai, Sabaoth,* &c. Nor does he restrict these usages to the professors of the true religion. See also ib. p. 374, and Spencer's very curious note on pp. 17. C. 41: notes, p. 16—19, where we have every thing we can require on this subject.

[1] This is perhaps, an instance of *hypallage*, as occasionally met with in the Scriptures (see the note to §. 57 above.) So Rom. vii. 24. "τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου." Syr. ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ. Here, the ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ, *by the desires of the bonds* (the lusts) *of nature.* Our author probably means, (by hypallage) the mortifications to which persons of this sort usually submitted, just as it is the case with the devotees of Hindustan at this day; all of whom generally hold, that they have power over demoniacal agents. A belief however, in these things as expressed here, must be classed among those, which more enlightened times have very properly rejected. Our author might,

out, "Bruise, bruise the form[2]; but me thou wilt not bruise." And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: "Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with "me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, "before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth "ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one "conciliating perturbed expression[3]." One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: "*What shall separate me from the love of God?* (shall) *tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger,*

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however, have intended this as a sort of argumentum ad hominem, it being religiously held by the heathen of his times, as may be seen Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. C. XXII. seq. Where (p. 173. D.) he tells us that in this case he used not the testimony of Christians, but of the heathen Philosophers themselves, *καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἡμῶν κατηγορεῖται ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκριβέστατα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον, ἢ ἡμεῖς εἰδότων.* See ib. cap. XXIII. on the means used for expelling and opposing these Demons, from Porphyry. See also Sect. 12. Book II. below.

[2] Syr. ܡܫܘܚ ܠܝܬ ܕܢܫܘܚ. The last word should, perhaps, be written, ܢܫܘܚ. Castell giving ܐܢܫܘܚ, *pulchritudo.* Al. *Pulcher oculi nictus.* i. q. Copticum *ουρικι.* The word occurs very rarely in the Syriac: and hence, probably, the mistake of the Copyist. This is, no doubt, the same with the relation given of Anaxarchus by Clem. Alexand. (p. 496. Ed. 1629.) and by Theodoret, Edit. Gaisford, p. 328, in these words: "Πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον· Ἀνάξαρχον γὰρ οὐ πτίσσεις." Theodoret gives it thus: "Πτίσσε πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον [γὰρ] οὐ πτίσσεις." This being the case, the reading ܢܫܘܚ, may be a corruption, for ܢܫܡܫ: or, if the general sense only was intended to be given, Eusebius himself might have omitted the proper name here. According to Celsus (Origen contra Cels. Lib. VII. p. 367,) Anaxarchus was thrown into a mortar, and, when beaten there, uttered these remarkable words. The tyrant who reduced him to this, was Aristocreon of Cyprus (ib. p. 368.). Epictetus is here also celebrated for a similar act of fortitude. This account, moreover, of Anaxarchus will be found at length in Diogenes Laërtius, under his life.

[3] This will be found in Prep. Evang. Lib. VI. cap. VI. p. 242. C. thus,

> Ἰτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανον· τέμνε,
> Κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλησθητί μου πίνων
> Κελαινὸν αἷμα. πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γαιῆς
> Ἰασιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ' ἄνεισ' ἐς οὐρανὸν,
> Πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σε θῶπ' ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.

See Viger's note on the place. A place not unlike this will be found

or nakedness, or cold, or the sword[1] ?" I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were digged out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke; while the conscious mind[2] residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships[3]; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable.

65. This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing[3], is worthy of the favour[3] of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future; and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity.

66. This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible;—Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch, as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity.

67. This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of THE WORD OF GOD, and is

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in Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. IV. p. 493. seq. with some others to the same effect.

[1] Rom. viii. 35. differing considerably from the text of the Peschito and Philoxenian Versions.

[2] See §. 47, above.

[3] Syr. MS. ܙܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܢܢܐ. Castell has ܙܟܘܬܐ, *justitia, clementia, indulgentia*. Our MS. perhaps has ܙܟܘܬܐ erroneously.

fitted to worship his Father—Him (I say) who is higher than the heavens,—with the praises which are proper for the Deity; and to be assimilated to the company of the Angels in heaven. Because to him alone, of the animals that are on the earth, has this superiority been assigned. By means of this he recognizes, from the mind of his nature, Him who is the cause of every good; and is enjoined to render, as the return due to a Father, the praises of thanksgiving and blessing which are becoming.

68. The testimonies to all these things, does that word of the doctrine and erudition which is divine, confirm: (viz.) that of this undying nature, and equal of the citizens that are in heaven, is this (being) alone of those that are on the earth; this intelligent and rational essence (I say) which is in man: and, that he is the dear child of THE DIVINE WORD, the common Saviour of all; and that in his nature, he agrees both as to image and form with (this) his Father.

69. For if this rational animal,—this, who has become partaker in all this superiority; this, which alone of those that are on the earth, is in the image of God; this Brother of the divine hosts, and of the Angels, which are in heaven,—had been duly led by his nature, and had from ancient time adhered to the divine law; he would indeed have been freed from this earthly and corruptible (mode of) life[4], and would have continued in his conversation on earth, as in a state of migration. Had he first (of all) studied divine things (only), he would indeed have effected his departure hence to those things which belonged to him; and would have been registered (as) among those that were perfect, apart from this his state of defect, and of infantine constitution. Thus therefore has man, of necessity, put on a corruptible and dissoluble body, (and this) through the mercy of his Father, that calamity may not be his permanent lot, and that he may not be tied interminably to corruption. Soon therefore, shall this corruptible be

[4] MS. ܕܡܟ̈ܐ, which, by an error of the press has been printed ܕܡܟ̈ܐ.

dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhales the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one,—a mere infant, and as yet a fœtus (only) conceived on earth,—clothed in this corruptible skin; which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, well have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, "*Wretched*[1] *man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?*" And again, "*Even*[2] *if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh.*" He adduces his reason too, and says, "*For our labour* (of culture) *is in heaven*[3]*; and we*[4] *draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven.*"—These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God.

70. If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason? For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal dark-

[1] Rom. vii. 24, as in the Peschito.

[2] 2 Cor. x. 3, differing considerably from the Peschito.

[3] Phil. iii. 20, as before.

[4] Heb. xii. 22, cited from memory, apparently.

ness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each)[5] receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man[6]. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy; then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life.

71. But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light? and that it must suffer,—by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it,—the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth,—even of the life of man,—or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name.

72. As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that

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[5] We have here an abrupt change from the plural to the singular; which I have marked by inserting the term *each*.

[6] Syr. ܚܝܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ, lit. *carry the life of men:* but, as ܚܝܐ, and its derivatives often signify *vigour*, or the like, I have so translated it here. See my Heb. Lexicon, under חָיָה...sign. ii.

which is yet, but a fœtus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says,—when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear,—that "*it consists of many compounds*, (resulting) *from the innumerable vapours which* (arise) *from the earth*[1]." One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good. Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, "*that he think not beyond the measure of his stature*," nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are good;—be brought up in the instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators;—when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that Word of God too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all: and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description.

[1] Several passages similar to this, though not identical with it, are to be found in Plutarch, and other writers.

So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one.—But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not THE WORD OF GOD, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who IS; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers. On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members:—when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature;—(then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence,—his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation,—shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification[2] and punishment which is by fire: because he would not be instructed by THE WORD (or Reason), nor

[2] The views of some of the Fathers on this subject were extremely dark and perplexed, out of which evidently grew the *Purgatory* of the Roman Catholics. How far our author partook of this, I have not been able to ascertain. Origen tells us in his 24th Hom. on Luke, that, as John baptized with water, so shall Christ baptize in a river of fire all who shall pass to Paradise; but here, the baptism by water must first have taken place. In this case all must submit to this second purifying baptism. Again, near the end of his 8th book of explanations

adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so.

73. He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the senses of his body ;—that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man ;—may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (beings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men, or even more perfect than those that are on the earth ; still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew :— For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven,

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planations of the Epist. to the Romans, he says, that he who spurns the purifications of the Word of God, and of the Gospel-teaching, will reserve himself to the *sad and penal purifications of the fire of hell :* in conformity with the Scripture, "*I will purify thee with fire even to purification.*" (Is. i. 25. Sept.) He goes on to tell us, that, how long this *purifying by fire* with sinners shall continue, He only, to whom the Father hath delivered all judgment, can know: evidently inclining to the notion that it is not eternal. This is however, according to him, one of those things which the Apostle considered as a mystery, and to be held as such by the faithful, secretly within themselves: and, for this he cites "*Mysterium Regis* (ut ait Scriptura) *celare bonum est.*" (Prov. xxv. 2?). But, who does not see that all this is a miserable perversion of Scripture? See Spencer's Notes on Origen contra Cels. pp. 47—50: it. p. 77. The Bishop of Lincoln's Eccl. Hist. illustrated from Tertullian, p. 342. seq. Camb. 1826. Out of this also grew the Mohammedan purgatory, styled الاعراف. Elarāf. They have also a Bason (pond), styled الحوض, out of which all the faithful are to drink before they enter Paradise. Our author however, does speak also of earthly plagues sent as purifiers. See Book II. §. 86, below: and so does Origen contra Cels. Lib. IV. p. 173, where Plato is cited as using similar phraseology.

and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth;—can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted[1]:—these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption?—these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body; it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly WORD, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable.

74. You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time,—will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul,—so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this

[1] See §. 62. seq. above.

were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness:—whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk and the swaddling bands; this,—who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world;—this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God,—not (placed) at any great distance of limit,—for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, "*What*[1] *is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him.*"

75. If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety;—and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment;—Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in child-

[1] Ps. viii. 5, 6, differing slightly from the Peschito.

hood, with respect to its more complete and perfect growth, should, when it comes forth to the full growth of its stature, be in dignity as the Angels? We do see however, that the nature of man undergoes dissolution by death. But, What of this? Is it not that we are the more convinced by it, that the soul is immortal? For if, when immersed in a corruptible and mortal body, it evince all this force of superiority, which we have already shewn; How shall it not, when it shall have separated itself from its participation in corruption, and shall have laid down mortality as a bandage, then act in its own power, in a manner less impeded than it now does? Do you not perceive, that so long as it entertains an attachment to the body[2], it thence acts basely? But, if it refuse participation (with the body), it (then) subsists within itself. And hence, is its essence clearly known to be incorporeal. For, How can that which is opposed to the body, be of (its) nature? The thoughts too of the soul are healthy, so long as the bodily passions are infirm, but the same will be dark and obscure when the body labours under the lusts. Hence, so long as the soul is infatuated, its whole attachment will be to the body; and, when attached to the body, it will be shorn of its excellence. When however, it becomes strong in opposition to the body, and flies from the lustful passions, it (then) becomes wise; and, when it has become wise, it turns away its face from a participation in mortality, and forthwith gives up itself to the knowledge which is pure, and, in a small degree, withdraws itself from the stimulating nature of the body. When moreover, it is powerful with respect to the riches which are its own, it (then) happily becomes more abundantly enlightened, directed, and stirred up. Then too, will it partake in knowledge, wisdom, and every sort of excellence, when it has ceased to countenance the motions of the bodily passions. And, so long as it counts upon (this) ex-

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[2] Similar reasoning will be found in the Phædo of Plato, Edit. Lond. p. 170; and in Plutarch de consolat. ad Apollonium. (p. 107. seq. Edit. 1620) beginning with, εἴγε μὴν ἀποδημία προσέοικεν ὁ θάνατος, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐστὶ κακόν· μήποτε δὲ καὶ τοὐναντίον, ὦγαθόν, κ.τ.λ.

cellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses. When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is imperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without controul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body, so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes[1]; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed: and, should remissness be given to the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice—the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths,—will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body[2]? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent? and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality,—and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, clothed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen[3] vessel,

[1] Alluding to Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5: and meaning apparently that, should light be impeded by any means from passing through the natural inlets to the soul, so far must the soul remain unenlightened, and in intellectual darkness.

[2] Plato's "λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος." Phædo. Edit. Lond. p. 183. And so a Poet cited by Plutarch, (de consolat. ad. Apoll. 108. E.)

"Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον ἀπόλυσιν πόνων."

[3] Alluding to 2 Cor. iv. 7.

(and) wholly compressed within this its vesture,—it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death:—if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved:—how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live; and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality[4].

76. For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the WORD[5], which is called the seed, now secretly exerting itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body;—and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles

[4] Much to the same effect Plato, Phædo. Edit. Lond. p. 178. seq. So also Clemens Alexand. (Strom. Lib. v. p. 746.)..."ὁ δὲ, καὶ μετ "ἀγγέλων εὔχεται, ὡς ἂν ἤδη καὶ ἰσάγγελος, οὐδέ ἔξω ποτὲ τῆς "ἁγίας φρουρᾶς γίνεται, κἂν μόνος εὔχεται, τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων χορὸν "συνιστάμενον ἔχει."..."Quinetiam precatur cum Angelis, ut qui jam "sit etiam æqualis Angelis, neque est unquam extra sanctam custodiam, "et licet oret solus, habet chorum Angelorum una assistentem."

[5] Syr. ܡܠܬܐ. Castell, among other things, gives "*Causa.*" But, as our Author considers Christ, or the WORD, the efficient cause of this property in seeds, plants, and the like, as well as of the reason implanted in man; I have accordingly given THE WORD, in translating it, in order to preserve this notion. See also Book IV. §. 25. where this argument is again touched upon.

it from without shall dissolve through corruption;—then will it shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior;—

77. So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly. But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels;—of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed WORD and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the WORD (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death[1]? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that WORD which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal,—that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself;—Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away

[1] It was one of the errors of Tatian, that he believed the soul partook of the matter of the body: Orat. contra Græcos, p. 169. B. seq. Edit.

from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds, and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do, the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven[2].

78. All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which is in man is intelligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven. But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small;—on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the power to govern self—(and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the DIVINE WORD the King, is free[3]; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory,

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[2] Syr. ܟܘܫܐ. Ovens in the East are not unlike large stone jars, as may be seen in Mr. Taylor's Fragments to his Edition of Calmet's Dictionary, No. cix. Plate 38. fig. 5. Edit. 1838. The allusion, made to the spark of fire, in the last section, is perhaps intended to be kept up here, with the notion of a silent process going on, as in baking any thing in an oven.

[3] This argument is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. VI. p. 245. seq. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 613. it. ib. p. 588. It. Origen. Philocal. pp. 59. 94. Edit. Spenceri. Theodoret. Index. Tom. IV. sub. vocibus, "*Libertas,*" and "*et Liberum arbitrium.*" &c. Tatian says on it, (Orat. contra Græcos, near the beginning)... "τῇ δὲ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς προαιρέσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκτελειούμενον, ὅπως ὁ μὲν φαῦλος δικαίως κολάζηται δι' αὐτὸν γεγονῶς μοχθηρός." κ.τ.λ. Relicta est autem humano generi voluntas libera, ut in improbos jure animadvertatur, &c.

after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduce to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen: these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches,—the abundant means of every sort (of sin,)—against the salvation of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up[1] within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God

[1] Syr. ܒܝܩܪ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܪܒܐ ܒܝܩܪ, which is ambiguous, and might also mean, *has honoured out of his greatness:* i. e. by means of his greatness, wealth, influence, or the like.

wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying; "*Man understood not his own honour; but was given up to be as the brute*[2], *and became assimilated to it.*"

79. On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them. And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, THE WORD OF GOD: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing.

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[2] Ps. xlix. 21. according to the Peschito, except that we have ܕܡܝܢ, instead of ܐܬܕܡܝ: but differing slightly from the Septuagint, as it also does from the sense of the Hebrew.

The End of the First Discussion (Book) *of* (Eusebius) *of Cæsarea.*

BOOK II.

THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1. The human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour: and God alone was the helper, who could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all;—of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error.

2. But again, that the cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity: and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.

3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil [1] Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence [2] it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is over

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[1] This, according to our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ix. is the person spoken of, Is. xiv. 12. That the king of Babylon is here primarily meant, there can be no doubt: but whether the "common enemy" of man is secondarily, may be matter of debate.

[2] We now come again to certain passages in the Orat. de laudd. Constantini, identical with some in this work. Cap. xiii. pp. 531, D. 532, &c. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x.

all; The Cause and Maker of all; The Reverend Name of that nature of the ONLY (Begotten) which had no beginning, Him who was before all[3], THE WORD OF GOD; The Father of the essence which is intelligent and rational; Him who rules both in heaven and earth; Him who is at all times present to this world, and is in it, and is the (efficient) Cause of every good to all; That providential care; That Saviour; That Upholder; That Giver of rain, and Dispenser of light, and Prince of life; That Creator of this whole (they recognised not, I say), but gave that Reverend Name to the Sun, the Moon, the very Heavens, and the stars; nor did they confine themselves to these[4],—

4. But also, to matter warm and cold, wet and dry, to the very waters, the earth, the air and fire;—things which we perceive with our eyes, have neither soul nor reason;—and to the rest of the (constituent) portions of the world, they likewise gave the names of [5] Neptune, [6] Vulcan, [7] Jupiter, [8] Juno, and of others, and honoured them with the title of god: nor did they confine themselves to these,—

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[3] It must, I think, be sufficiently certain from this place, that Eusebius was no Arian. A passage, similarly strong, is to be found in his Orat. de laudd. Constantini, (cap. ii. p. mihi 501. A—D.) in these words: "ὁ μέν γε τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενὴς λόγος, τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ συμβασιλεύων ἐξ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας." "Et ille quidem unigenitus Dei Sermo, a sæculis principio carentibus, ad infinita usque et interminata sæcula regnat cum Patre." See above Book I. §. 4, 30: also III. 19, 39: IV. 8: V. 51. and, above all, Theodoriti Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. capp. xi. xii. in the latter of which a Copy of the Nicene Creed is given, as emanating from Eusebius, and this for the specific purpose of shewing, that he was no Arian. See also his Eccl. Hist. Lib. I. cap. ii. also the Introduction to this Work. See also, generally, the two Works of our author against Marcellus. In Lib. II. Eccl. Theolog. cap. xiv. he speaks, indeed, of His having a beginning, but this is with reference to his proceeding from the Father: in other words, his being revealed to created rational existences.

[4] This argument is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. III. cap. xiii. p. 117. seq. as it is also in the "Græcarum affectionum Curatio," by Theodoret, Sermo. I. seq.

[5] Syr. ܢܦܬܘܢ, Gr. Ποσειδῶν.

[6] Syr. ܗܦܣܛܘܣ, Gr. Ἥφαιστος.

[7] Syr. ܙܐܣ, Gr. Ζεύς. [8] Syr. ܗܪܐ, Gr. Ἥρα.

5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) [1] Ceres, [2] Proserpine, [3] Bacchus: and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these [4],—

6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named [5] Minerva, and their speech [6] Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called [7] Memory, and the [8] Muses: nor did they confine themselves to these things,—

7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason:—of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again [9], the appetency to the intemperate

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[1] Syr. ܕܝܡܛܪ, Gr. Δήμητραν. *Demeter*, or *Ceres*. Diod. Sicul. Lib. I. xii. Γῆ μήτηρ, πάντων Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. See the Note, Ed. Wesseling.

[2] Syr. ܦܪܣ, Gr. Κόρην. *Proserpine*, the daughter of Jupiter and Ceres. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. III. cap. xiii. p. 119. D. et seq.

[3] Syr. ܒܩܘܣ, Gr. Διόνυσον. *Bacchus*. Orat. de. laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

[4] Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

[5] Syr. ܐܬܝ. Gr. Ἀθηναν. *Minerva*. According to the Egyptians, the Air, and daughter of Jupiter. Diod. Sicul. Lib. I. cap. xii.

[6] Syr. ܗܪܡܝܣ. Gr. Ἡρμῆν. *Mercury*.

[7] Syr. ܡܢܡܘܣܘܢܐ. Gr. Μνημοσύνην. *Memory*, "*Monetam*."

[8] Syr. ܡܘܣܐ. Gr. Μούσας. *Muses*. Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 532. A. seq. This subject is prosecuted rather more at length by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. iii. Tom. IV. p. 514. seq. where many of the expressions of our author are evidently copied. See also Clemens Alexan. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 16. seq. Ed. 1629; and, ib. p. 19, he gives us the real history of these Muses.

[9] The Gr. has, ἐπὶ τῇ, κ.τ.λ. which Valesius thinks should be καὶ ἔτι τὴν...ἀκράτειαν: which the Syriac supports.

lusts, they named [10] Cupid, [11] Priapus, [12] Venus, and other things allied to these: nor did they confine themselves to these,—

8. But, they also prostrated themselves to that which was born [13] of the human body, and to the life which is subject to death; they made men into Gods; and published of these, after undergoing a common mortality, that they were Gods and Demigods; imagining that the divine and immortal essence moved about the sides of graves, and among the monuments [14] of the dead: nor did they confine themselves to these things,—

9. But, they also honoured with the Reverend name, every species of irrational animal, and noxious reptile [15]! nor did they confine themselves to these [15],—

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[10] Syr. ܩܘܣ. Gr. (Ἔρως), Ἔρωτα, lit. *Love: Cupid.*

[11] Syr. ܦܪܝܩܘܣ. Gr. Πρίηπον, *Priāpus.*

[12] Syr. ܐܦܪܘܕܝܛܝ. Gr. Ἀφροδίτην. *Venus.* See also, De laudd. Constant. cap. vii. p. 513. B. where we have a similar recension of these Deities. Our passage, however, is found ib. cap. xiii. 532. A.

[13] See also the Homilia Clementina Quinta. xxii. xxiii. seq.

[14] It is not easy to say here, whether the Syriac MS. reads, ܕܡ ܒܟܥܐ, or ܒܟܥܐ ܕܡ. I suppose, the latter: ܒܟܥܐ, according to Castell, signifying "*saxetum,*" &c. which might have been put to signify, *monumental stone,* or the like. The Greek text, Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. has, "ἀμφὶ μνήματα καὶ τάφους." Athenagoras has some good remarks on these Deities. Legat. pro Christ. p. 73. D. and Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. init. it. Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 37. C. who says of them; "περὶ τοὺς τάφους καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα καλινδούμενα." See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. VII. p. 334.

[15] Cicero (de Natura Deorum III. 15, 16) has admirably depicted this state of things: "Piscem Syri venerantur: omne fere genus bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt. Jam vero in Græcia multos habent ex hominibus Deos; Alabandum Alabandi; Tenedii Tenem; Leucotheam, quæ fuit Ino, et ejus Palæmonem filium, cuncta Græcia; Herculem, Æsculapium, Tyndaridas; Romulum nostri, aliosque complures, quos, quasi novos et ascriptitios cives, in cœlum receptos putant... Hæc igitur indocti. Quid vos philosophi? qui meliora?... Quare igitur plures adjungimus Deos? quanta autem est illorum multitudo?... singulas enim stellas numeras Deos; eosque aut belluarum nomine appellas, ut Capram, ut Nepam, ut Taurum, ut Dionem; aut rerum inanimatarum,

ut

10. But, they also cut down trees[1], and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods[2]! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

11. But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these same images[3], which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

12. But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties[4] of those who used abominable incantations, by

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ut Argo, ut Aram, ut Coronam. Sed, ut hæc concedantur, reliqua qui tandem non modo concedi, sed omnino intelligi possunt? Cum fruges, Cererem; vinum, Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis, utimur usitato: sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse?"

[1] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. See also Clemens Alexandr. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 34. seq.

So Horace Serm. Lib. I. Sat. viii. 1. "Olim truncus eram," &c. Athenagoras Legat. pro Christ. p. 66, gives an admirable account of the first Images, and Image-makers, among the Greeks.

[2] The Greek has (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.) instead of this: "κἄπειτα τούτοις τιμὰς περιτεθείκασι." Cultumque posthac iis exhibuerunt."

[3] So Tertullian, Eccles. Hist. of the second and third centuries, by the Bishop of Bristol, Cambridge, 1826, p. 216. An Image among Idolaters is nothing, until consecrated and a Deity supposed to reside within it. They are then considered as *Temples*. (هياكل, Pocock. spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 91, 144, seq.) or *Chapels* of the Deity. From the following passage of Lactantius (Lib. II. cap. xviii. p. 163,) it is obvious, that Images could not have had place in the Church:..."non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, *ubicunque simulacrum* est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autem nihil est, nisi in cœlestibus rebus; carent ergo religione simulacra, quia nihil potest esse cœleste in ea re, quæ fit ex terra."...Quicquid enim simulatur, id falsum sit necesse est: nec potest unquam verè nomen accipere, quod veritatem fuco et imitatione mentitur.

[4] See sect. 63. Book I.—Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.) "καταδέσμοις;" which, as Valesius shews, ib. notes, p. 255, is a term applied to magical usages. See this note. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. VI. cap. ix. p. 271. C.

songs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, those invisible Demons[5] and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Æsculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods; while the Egyptians[6] imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the fiercest animals. The Phenicians too, named[7] Malkuthrudun,

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[5] Lactantius (Lib. II. cap. xiv.) says of these, that they were originally Angels sent from Heaven to protect and govern men; but, falling into lust through the temptations of Satan, they at length became his ministers: which has evidently been taken from the Jews. See the Targums on Gen. vi. 2. He further tells us, that the Grammarians say they are so called, as being δαήμονες, i. e. *knowing*. Such is, I think the *Boot* (بت, originally *Boodhi, wise*) of the East, to this day.—Hesiod also makes them *the guardians of men*, "φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων." (Oper. et Dies. Lib. I. 122.). This opinion prevails still in the East: and it is affirmed, that whole regions are subjected to their controul, as may be seen in the Dabistan, the Hakk olyakeen (حق اليقين), and many other Persic and Arabic works. Lactantius tells us, a little lower down, from Hermes Trismegistus, that piety, consisting in the knowledge of the true God, was sufficient to save men from their evil influence. Porphyry tells us (Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. x. p. 197. and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford. p. 131.) that they are all evil Demons: their Chief being Sarapis, i. e. Pluto, or Hecate; and (Prep. Evang. ib,) much the same is said by Anebo the Egyptian.

[6] See Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x.: II. cap. i. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. I. x—xiii. Lactant. Lib. I. cap. viii—xv. who prosecutes this argument at much length, and gives us even the philosophical Cicero deifying his own daughter!

[7] Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܩܪܬ, Gr. Μελίκαρθος, the Phœnician Hercules according to Sanchoniathon, Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 38. In the

Orat.

[1] Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these, Gods; while the Arabians did the same to [2] Dusarin, and [3] Oubadon; the Getæ (Goths), to [4] Zalmacūsin: the Cilicians, to [5] Mopsus; the Thebans, to [6] Amphiaraus. And with others, again, others,—who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only,—they also honoured with the name of Gods.

Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 532. it is written Μελκάθαρον. The word has been greatly deformed by the Copyists in our text. See the note of Valesius to the above place, cap. xiii. p. (notes) 255.

[1] ܐܘܣܘܪܘܢ, Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533. Οὔσωρον. Prep. Evang. p. 35. Οὔσωον.

[2] Syr. ܕܘܫܪܐ, Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533, Δούσαρις: the Δυσάρης of the Greek and Latin writers, as noted by Bochart, and, after him, by Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 106, and which he thinks is the Arabic ذو الشرا *Dhushara*, or Bacchus. See also the note of Valesius ad cap. xiii. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 255.

[3] Syr. ܐܘܒܕ. Probably the Ὀβδᾶ, *Uranius* of Stephen of Byzantium, as cited by Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 137, &c. and variously accounted for by him. The passage is found in "Euseb. Orat. de laudd. Constant." p. 532—3. Ὄβδον. But see the note of Valesius on this place, ib. p. 255, which is full and valuable.

[4] Syr. ܙܠܡܘܟܣܝ. Gr. Ζάλμοξις, or Ζάμολξις. See Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. i. cap. xxxix. Herodot. iv. 94. and Photius. The *Zalmoxis* or *Zamolxis*, of the Getæ. The Syriac does not support the conjecture (παῖδες) of Valesius here. In these cases, the Syriac Translator seems to have taken the termination of the Greek accusative case.

[5] Syr. ܡܘܦܣ. Gr. Μόψος. Ovid. Metam. viii. 350. termed *Ampycides*, as being the son of *Ampycus*. It. ib. xii. 456. 528. See also Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533. Μόψιον, and the note of Valesius.

[6] Syr. ܐܡܦܝܪܐܘܣ. Gr. Ἀμφιάρεων. Laudd. Constant. ib. See the Odyss. O. 244. Hor. Od. iii. 16. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 3. Ovid. Ex. Pont. Epist. Lib. iii. l. 52. &c. Euseb. laudd. Constant. Ἀμφιάρεων. Valesius. note ib. Ἀμφιάρεω. The Trojans also, according to Athenagoras, worshipped Hector and Helen, the Lacedemonians Agamemnon, and Phylonæ: and so of others. Legat pro Christianis, at its commencement, So ib. p. 60. Again, ib. p. 63, he gives us the story of the mundane egg; which identifies this mythology, with that of the Brahmins of Hindustan. So also Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. ii., who refers to the "Aves" of Aristophanes as his authority: p. 116. it. Clemens Alexand. Admonitio ad Gentes. p. 35. seq.

13. The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species,—even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe,—of the very elements, of the fruits[7] which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions[8]; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men[9]! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable (to this): nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life[10]. On the contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts; and, as it happened,—I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons,—they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, THE WORD OF GOD in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought!

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[7] The Greek text, Orat. de laudd. Constant. is defective here, as Valesius has properly remarked, and as some of the MSS. have intimated by inserting the word "λείπει." (p. 533. and 255 notes).

[8] . "Quod si ita est, Cœli quoque parentes Dii habendi sunt, Æther, et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolor, Metus, Labor, Invidia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebræ, Miseria, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcæ, Hesperides, Somnia; quos omnes Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt. Aut hæc monstra probanda sunt, aut prima illa tollenda." Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 17."

[9] "Ergo hi Dii sunt habendi, mortalibus nati matribus? (sc. Apollo, Vulcanus, Mercurius, Hercules, Æsculapius, Bacchus, &c.) Cic. ib. c. 18. Comp. Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 18. seq."

[10] "Jam vero quid vos illa delectat explicatio fabularum, et enodatio nominum? exsectum a filio Cœlum, vinctum itidem a filio Saturnum? &c., Cic. ib. iii. 24. From passages of this sort, occurring in the profane authors, it should seem, that the best informed of those times were growing weary of the follies of heathenism. Nevertheless they adhered to these errors, and even defended them: for which Lactantius, very properly castigates them, and Cicero in particular, Lib. II. ii.

These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods; and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women[1]. Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)!

14. Nor[2] was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and, in the first place, corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus[3]. Now indeed, this city[4] alone

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[1] Gr. "γυναικῶν τε ἁρπαγὰς ὁμολογοῦντες:" the stealing of women, which proved the cause of so many wars in ancient times. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533. A. B.

[2] The Greek text of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. leaves us here; but recurs to this passage, ib. p. 534. D.

[3] The most famous instances of this sort was, perhaps, afforded by the Temple of Venus in Cyprus; to which people resorted from all quarters. A similar usage obtained among the Babylonians. Herodot. i. 199.

[4] Syr. ܐܝܠܝܐ, as if in the plural number: this, however, the context will not bear: but, as the double point (ribbui of the Syr. Gramm.) is occasionally used in this work where no *plural* number can be meant, I have thought it right to preserve it. This remark must suffice for all such instances.

remains in this sickly state of folly, by way of proof of these ancient vices; when, from ancient times, many thus suffered while the disease inflicted by Demons had more abundant hold.

15. Nor was it this only, but also, the very men who rejected the gods mentioned (above), preached up, by means of hymns, elegies, sacrifices, mysteries, books, and votive offerings to Idols, that Father and Leader of all the Gods, who was overcome by bodily lust, and fell in love with Ganymede[5]: and, as it were in emulation of their Gods, they transgressed the bounds of nature, and remained in this excess, at a distance not to be described, or (received) as real into the hearing. They fearlessly abused each other, as the Divine declarations affirm: "*Man with man working that which was shameful, and receiving in themselves the return of reward, which was due to their error*[6]."

16. Nor[7] was it this alone, but they also subverted

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[5] The well-known rape of Ganymede, son of Tros king of Phrygia. Ovid. Met. x. 155. shortly details the matter thus:

> "Rex Superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore
> Arsit: et inventum est aliquid, quod Jupiter esse,
> Quam quod erat, mallet."

See also Lactantius de falsa Relig. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 34. Edit. 1698. "Illud vero summæ impietatis ac sceleris, quod regium puerum rapuit ad stuprum:" seq. See also Clemens Alexand., who recites several such cases. Ib. Theodoret. Græc. affect. curat. Serm. III. p. 520. seq. And Arnobius adversus Gentes, Lib. I. p. 165. seq. Edit. 1604.

[6] Rom. I. 27. Our text differs so much from the Peschito, as to warrant the assumption, that it was translated for the occasion. It stands thus: ܘܐܝܟ ܕܓܒܪ ܥܡ ܓܒܪ ܥܒܕܝ ܪܥܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܩܒܠ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܓܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܬܝܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܓܘ ܫܓܝܐܘܬܗ. This place occurs in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. A.

That our author has *not* overstated this matter, is evident from many ancient writers of the greatest respectability. The following is from Cicero, De Nat. Deorum. I. 16. "Exposui fere, non philosophorum judicia, sed delirantium somnia. Nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea, quæ Poëtarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt; qui et *ira inflammatos et libidine furentes induxerunt Deos, fecerunteque, ut eorum bella, pugnas, prœlia, vulnera, videremus; odia præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortali*

the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate[1], and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication[2] (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the representation of every (sort) of lasciviousness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoured by wild beasts; (the excite-

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immortali procreatos." Nor, according to Cicero himself, were the philosophers in any respect better. Compare the first few sections of the work, De Natura Deorum. To the same effect, Porphyry in the Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. p. 172. D. And ib. Lib. XII. cap. XLIX. p. 618. Origen contra Cels. Lib. VII. p. 365. Plato in his Republics, Lib. X.—Much of this noxious sort of matter is to be found in some of the Classic authors still extant, and which are too often put into the hands of our youth, e.g. The Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes; the Epigrams, &c. of Martial and Ausonius, &c.—See Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. III. p. 142. seq.

[1] See the Index to the Prep. Evang. sub voce "*Fatum.*"—Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. xiii. p. 535. A.B. with some discrepancies.

[2] Our author had, perhaps, the passage in Clemens Alexand. here in his eye. (Pædag. Lib. II. cap. iv. init.) "ἀτεχνῶς γαρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον:" as if intoxication were considered as attending on the theatres.

ment) of grains of corn parched[3] (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governours, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul[4].

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities[5]. Instead of the precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory,—through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were

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[3] Syr. ܐܒܝ̈ ܐܠ̈ܒ̈ܘ; ܐܒ̈ܝ should perhaps, be the reading of the second word here. The meaning of our author probably is, that the excitement received at these exhibitions was not unlike that—together with the other things here mentioned,—witnessed in corn parched by a sharp fire: i.e. by having an unnatural stimulus applied, evinced an unnatural action. The whole place however, is obscure.

[4] So Tatian (Orat. contra Græcos, p. 176. C. seq.) "τί θαυμαστὸν, ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐξῃρημένον διαπράττεται; ῥιναυλοῦσι τὰ αἰσχρὰ, κινοῦνται δὲ κινήσεις ἃς οὐκ ἔχρῆν, καὶ τοὺς ὅπως δεῖ μοιχεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς σοφιστεύοντας αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμων καὶ οἱ παῖδες θεωροῦσι." κ.τ.λ. "Quid obsecro fit apud vos egregium, aut admiratione dignum? Obscœna verba naso resonante effutiunt, et motus indecentes moventur, et adulteriorum in scena magistros filiæ et filii vestri spectant," &c. See the notes to sect. 13 above; some good remarks on this subject will be found, cited from Porphyry, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. p. 172. D. From Plato, ib. Lib. xii. 49. D. seq. In Theodoret, Gr. affect. curatio, Serm. iii. Tom. iv. p. 511. D. seq. See also Theophilus ad Antolycum, Lib. iii. p. 149. D. where an admirable lesson to Christians will be found on this point.

[5] So Eph. iv. 18, 19. "*Having the understanding darkened, being "alienated from the life of God...being past feeling, have given themselves "over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.*" Plato seems to have held much the same opinion on these matters, see the place just pointed out. See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 39. seq.

corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities,—passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings[1], differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first[2] and last of every other,—which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians;—the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe! And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits,—those who praise the King of all,—did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such: but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch,

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[1] Such for example, as the labours of Hercules; and, in the present day, those of Buddha, Rama, &c. as abounding in the poetic fictions of the Buddhists, Hindoos, and others. Cicero was so much impressed with the absurdities put forth by the Philosophers, that he confesses, that although he is most willing to receive the truth, yet he doubts, whether it is at all to be found without much admixture of error. His words are, (De Natura Deorum, I, 5.) "Non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videtur, sed ii, qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi et assentiendi nota." Plato's opinions on these foolish and abominable stories may be seen in Gaisford's Edit. of Theodoret. Gr. affect. curat. p. 121. seq. Prep. Evang. Lib. II. cap. vii.

[2] Syr. ܩܕܡܝܐ, which should, probably, be ܩܕܡܝܬ.

that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened!

19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable[3] of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those,—who boasted themselves among the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many; were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment[4]: for, these things, and others like them, they

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[3] The Syriac term used here, (ܟܒܝܕܐ.) I have not been able to find in any Syriac dictionary or writer. From the context it should signify something like the preceding, ܪܒܢܐ, *leaders, governours,* or the like. If it is a compound however, it may have been formed of ܟ, *pars, sors,* &c. and ܒܝܕܐ, which Castell renders, "*pondus*" 255 *librarum,* and cites Bar Bahlul as his authority. The Arab. جريب signifies the same thing. And, as words signifying weight, as *weight, gravity, grave,* and the like, are often used to intimate *respect:* I have thought it likely, that something of this sort must be the sense here.

[4] See the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. i. seq. it. Lib. xiv. cap. ix. p. 740. Also Tatiani contra Græcos Oratio. in its outset, and Theodoret Gr. affect. curat. Serm. i. For a general account of the Philosophers and their chronological succession, see the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. xiv. Diog.

got together from every place:—these fell (nevertheless), into a deadly and ungodly state of mind! By the mere discovery of persuasive words moreover, some of these set it up,—as if they would make no experiments even after the truth,—that indivisible[1] bodies (atoms), having no extent, or having projecting parts, and infinite, were, forsooth, the origin of all things! These same too, determined [2]*Rest* to be the extreme good: that which is, and

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Diog. Laërt. Lib. i. pref. seq. Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. Our author has shewn pretty much at length, Prep. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. i. p. 45: ib. 460—468, that the Greeks were great copyists, and even plagiarists, both from foreigners and from one another. So also Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vi. near the beginning: and, on the succession of the Greek Philosphers, ib. Lib. i. p. 300. C. seq. Edit. 1629.

[1] So Epicurus after Democritus, according to Plutarch (de Placit. Philosoph. p. 877. See also their lives in Diog. Laërtius.) *Atoms* are, in our work, termed ܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܩܛܥܝܢ *bodies that cannot be cut:* i.e. indivisible. So called, according to Plutarch, εἴρηται ἄτομος, οὐχ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλαχίστη, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ δύναται τμηθῆναι i.e. It is termed *atom*, not because it is very small, but because *it cannot be cut*, or *divided*. The Syrian translator has availed himself of this, and adopted it accordingly. These atoms had, according to Democritus, *figure* and *magnitude*; to which Epicurus added *weight*; without which, as he thought, they could not gravitate. They were supposed too, to be various in form, *round, oval, angular, hooked*, &c. &c. (See Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. p. 1263. Tom. i.): which, I suppose, our author intimates when he says, "*without extent*, or, *having projecting parts*," &c. Syr. ܦܓܪ̈ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܚܠܦ̈ܐ. Matter similar to this will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. viii. And the whole passage from Plutarch, ib. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. p. 749. A. seq. which see.

[2] So also Numenius, Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxii. Ἔνθα τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ ἤθη, διατριβαί τε καὶ ἀγλαΐαι, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐν εὐμενείᾳ, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch ascribes the notion about *Rest*, to Archidamus, (Laconica Apophthegmata, p. 218. seq. Tom. ii. Edit. 1620) in these words: Καλὸν ἡσυχία: i.e. *Rest is good*. Again, (ib. Com. repugnant Stoïc. p. 1033), he speaks of this sentiment as praised by Hieronymus and Epicurus (see §. 50 below), and blames the Philosophers for adopting it, while they recommended an active life. His words are: "ἣν Επίκουρος ἡσυχίαν ἐπαινεῖ καὶ Ιερώνυμος." And so Diogenes Laërtius in his life of Democritus: "τέλος δὲ εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇ ἡδονῇ, (ὡς ἔνιοι παρακούσαντες ἐξεδέξαντο) ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ταρατ-

evidently (so), a greater corruption than all the (other) vices. For, What could be more worthy of honour than *Rest*, with those who laid it down, that there is in this something which exists, neither Providence, nor God, nor soul that is immortal, nor intelligent essence, nor WORD OF GOD which is above all, nor (yet) beginning, nor end? and, that the things alone that are irrational and inanimate, which are indivisible and subtile bodies (atoms), and fall not, on account of their excessive smallness, under the (observation of the) senses;—that they should predetermine these very things, which are inanimate, irrational, as being without beginning, ungenerated, and in their multitude infinite, and as having, from times not to be comprehended, been dispersed just as it has happened?—still, things being thus, have affirmed, that these were the cause of this universal order; and, that there was neither God, nor Providence, nor Reason which viewed, or which governed, the whole? But, even if there were, that He would not possess the being of any one thing; neither would He give it to others[3]! And, as my judgment is, the "*Rest*" which was (so) lovely to them, and which they also attributed to God Himself[4],—just as the doings

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τομένη φόβου, ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους. καλεῖ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ εὐεστῶ, καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι." "Finem vero esse rectum, quietúmque animi statum, quam εὐθυμίαν vocat, quæ, ut quidam obliquè interpretantur, non idem sit quod voluptas, verùm secundum quam animus magna tranquilitate constantiàque beátus est, dum nullo metu, nulla superstitione, aut alia quavis perturbatione agitatur. Eandem verò et Εὐεστῶ appellat, a bonitate constantiæ, multisque nominibus aliis." It should seem also, that he wrote two books on this subject, one entitled, "*De sedatione Animi*," and the other, "*Euesto*." See ib. This probably was the origin of the Epicurean tenet, of *Pleasure* being the chief good. See also Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. I. p. 1177. seq. it. 1299; where we are told, that the *pleasure of rest* was the Epicurean tenet: that of *motion*, the Cyrenaïc: and, that Epicurus has been greatly wronged, by having been thought *a sensualist*.

[3] Which is but an echo of (Diog. Laërt. life of Epicurus), "οὔτε αὐτὸ πραγμάτα ἔχει, οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει." Syr. ܠܐ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܠܐܚܪܢ.

[4] And so the Hindoos of the present day. Lactantius enters fully, and eloquently on this subject, Lib. I. cap. ii. de falsa religione.

of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks,—was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally); at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods; because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law[1]. But such were these, who contended for *Rest* (as the extreme good).

20. Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon[2]; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession[3], abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? —men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent and

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[1] Such, according to Plutarch, was Euripides the tragic Poet; not daring openly to profess his notions, through fear of the Areopagus. De Placit. Philos. p. 880. Vol. II.

[2] Much the same thing is said by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. 71. D. and in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. v. p. 798. ... "καὶ Πλάτωνος τούτοις συμφώνως, τὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων προνοίας λόγον εὐκρινῶς διατεθειμένων· ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μέχρι Σελήνης στήσας τὸ θεῖον, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη περιγράφει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσεως." κ.τ.λ. To the same effect also Theodoret, Serm. de Provid. I. Tom. IV. p. 322. A. Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos. in the outset, and Diog. Laërt. in vita Arist. near the end. Theodoret again, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, adds on this subject. "τὰ γὰρ δὴ μέχρι σελήνης ἰθύνειν ἔφησε τὸν Θεὸν, τὰ δέ γε ἄλλα ὑπὸ τὴν εἱμαρμένην τετάχθαι." "Inquit enim ad lunam usque Dei gubernationem deferri; quæ vero sunt infra lunam fato esse subjecta."

[3] Plato, as cited by Laërtius, (Lib. III. segm. 78) makes health, strength, the integrity of the senses, wealth, family, glory, &c. necessary to happiness; but he does not exclude virtue. So also Aristotle, according to Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos. init.

rational soul[4] which is in man, is mortal; and, that it is nothing, but even as the body, or as its colour, or its form? They usually term it moreover, *Entelechīa*[5]. Nor did they, by any means, place in apposition with the chief good, either the life of Philosophy, or the superiority of rule: on the contrary, they lapsed into the things of accident, riches, greatness, and family: (affirming), that with these existed the superiority that was worthy of reason; and that, without these things, it was nothing[6]! Nor had the wise man any thing superior, unless he were also rich: nor had he, who was careful about purity of life, any thing good about him, unless he were a person of family! nor, would justice itself, or the complete

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[4] The opinions of the Ancients on the soul, are given at length in Aristotle's work, "De anima," Lib. I. cap. ii.

[5] Aristotle, De anima, Lib. II. cap. i. seq. Diog. Laërt. in vita Arist. propè finem. Plutarch de Placitis Philos. (p. 875.) "καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἐντελέχειαν. "*Tum ipsa forma, quam vocamus entelecheian.*" The origin of this he ascribes to Aristotle, (ib. p. 878.) as a principle in nature. Αριστοτέλης...ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐντελέχειαν, ἤτοι εἶδος, ὕλην, στέρησιν." Aristotle made *Entelechia, or form, matter,* and *privation,* principles, &c. But, how this is said to be ascribed to the soul by Aristotle and his followers, may be seen in an extract from Plotinus, Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. x. Edit. Viger. p. 811. seq. and Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. I. p. 821. seq. Cicero (Tuscul. Quæst. Lib. I. cap. x. 22.), tells us that this was a fifth element with Aristotle: i. e. in addition to those of earth, air, fire, and water: his words are, "Quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine; et sic ipsum animum ἐντελέχειαν appellat novo nomine: quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem." See also Justin Martyr. Orat. Parenet. Ed. Steph. p. 13. l. 15. Theodoret Græc. affect. curat. p. 195. Edit. Gaisford. "Εντελέχειαν δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κέκληκε."

[6] Gataker, Præloq. ad Marc. Anton. de rebus suis. "Is post Platonem (i. e. Aristoteles) cum agmine utroque dicto (i. e. Platonici et Peripatetici,) in tres classes *Bona* dispescit universa, *animi, corporis,* et quæ *extra horum utrumque* consistunt, vitæ hujus adminicula. Quamvis autem *animi bona præstantissima* esse censeat, et *per se* maxime esse *expetenda* concedat; tanti tamen posteriora duo ista facit, tantúmque ad sortem beatam constituendam momenti viriúmque eis tribuit, ut virum virtute licet universa instructum, sed alteris illis orbatum ac destitutum, *beatorum* numero eximat," &c. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. iii. it. ib. Lib. VI. cap. ix. p. 269. A. Tatian ad Græcos. Oratio, near the beginning, and Theodoret, Græc. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 419.

beauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon: that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF GOD, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities[1]: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation, they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many[2]. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

21. Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best of Philosophers, dared with ungodly

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[1] Lactantius Lib. i. cap. v. 22. Ed. 1698. tells us that, "Aristoteles, quamvis secum ipsa dissideat, ac repugnantia sibi et dicat et sentiat: in summum tamen unam mentem mundo præesse testatur," which seems to me admirably to suit this place. Brucker,—an invaluable writer on the philosophy of the ancients,—thus speaks summarily on Aristotle, (Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. p. 814. Ed. secund.) "Si conjecturis locus aliquis in re obscurissima est, ab Aristotelis systemate non alienum putamus esse, si per *naturam* intelligatur influxus necessarius atque naturalis intelligentiæ ultimæ sphæræ presidentis," &c. And again, ib. p. 815, "Casum enim et fortunam in causis ponit efficientibus, et tamen, certam eis, unde oriantur, causam assignare nequit." And again, ib. p. 833, "Motorem enim primum,...Deum vocare nullus dubitat, eique subordinat intelligentias reliquas,"..."Deum ille quidem facit motus omnis causam, verum non adjungit tantum ei vinculo necessario materiam:.. impotissimus itaque Deus est," &c. See the authors cited here generally.

[2] Again, speaking of the Demonology of Aristotle, he says (ib. p. 831.) "Quibus (i. e. demonibus) an preces et sacrificia offerenda sint,...cautus non explicuit; verisimile tamen, Aristotelem ea inter istas fabulas, ad popellum deliriendum...excogitatas, retulisse." Athenagoras charges him with believing, that the one God consisted both of soul and body; and that this body was ethereal, or consisted of the Æther. Legat. pro. Christ. p. 54.

mouth to affirm, that God is a body; and, that His nature differs in no respect from fire. And this is the extreme error of the Stoïcs[3], who say of this sensible world, that it is God: and (so) set up a doctrine, which is impious and all-corrupting. For (they affirm), that the operative Cause, and the passiveness[4] of matter, are of one and the same essence; and, that the maker and the made, are both bodies: and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire; but, that he mixes Himself up at once, with every thing,—just as fire does in (its) progress,—at the appointed times. But[5] great is the

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[3] On this sect generally, see Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. ib. p. 893. seq. Euseb. Prep. Evang. Index, sub voce Stoïci. It. Plutarch passim, and the authors cited by Brucker. Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. pp. 54, 55: who tells us that they all held, nevertheless, that He was ONE.

[4] Syr. ܐܠܐܡܘܬܐ, which Castell renders by, "*cura, sedulitas.*" The context here requires however, that this word take its sense immediately from the root ܐܠܡ, *passus est;* and, that it mean *passiveness, passibility,* or *passivity.* Upon looking into Bar Bahlul, I find that he translates it by the Arabic الآلم, which is just what our context requires. I wonder how Castell could have made this mistake. The doctrine here had in view, is thus stated by Aristocles (Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xiv.) "Στοιχεῖον εἶναί φασι τῶν ὄντων τὸ πυρ, καθάπερ Ηράκλειτος, τούτου δ' ἀρχὰς ὕλην καὶ Θεὸν, ὡς Πλάτων. ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἄμφω σώματά φασιν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν, καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἐκείνου πρῶτον ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀσώματον εἶναι λέγοντος. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατά τινας εἱμαρμένους καὶ ὡρισμένους χρόνους, ἐκπυροῦσαι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, εἶτ' αὖθις πάλιν διακοσμεῖσθαι." κ. τ. λ. They say that fire is an element of things,—just as Heraclitus did—and that of this (element) the originators were Matter and God,—as Plato had.—But these say, that both are bodies, both the doing and the suffering: while he affirmed, that the first was the active and unembodied cause. They also say, that, after certain defined and fatally appointed periods, the whole world shall be burned, and again be set in beautiful order, &c.—It is added, (ib.) that this fire contains within it, as seed, the properties and causes of all things, past, present, and future. See also, ib. capp. xv. xvi.

[5] The Syriac has here, ܘܒܙܒܢ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܬܩܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܩܕܢ̈ܐ, which, is rather obscure: the latter phrase evidently means, in *times destined* for this conflagration.

sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoïc Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God[1] in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first[2]: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity[3]! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal. What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter, and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies[4]? and again, that after the close of life, they

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[1] So Porphyry, (as cited ib. cap. xvi.) God, they say, is a sort of intelligent fire, which will consume, and pervade all things, &c. which he condemns as utter folly. See also Spencer's note on Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 6. lin. 52.

[2] Syr. ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ, must here mean, *from eternity:* as this was the opinion of the Stoïcs. The same sentiment is given, Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xiv. p. 817. A: xx. C. D.

[3] So Arius Didymus (as cited Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv.) Ὅλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι προσαγορεύουσι Θεόν. τοῦτον δὲ ἕνα μόνον εἶναί φασι πεπερασμένον, καὶ ζῷον, καὶ ἀΐδιον, καὶ Θεόν. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ πάντα περιέχεσθαι τὰ σώματα, κενὸν δὲ μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν αὐτῷ... κόσμον ἀΐδιον εἶναι καὶ Θεόν. They term the whole world, with its parts, God. This, they say, is one absolute, living, and eternal being, and God: that, in this all bodies are contained, and that no void (vacuum) exists in him.. that the world is eternal, and is God,—He goes on to say, that with respect to order, &c. it is begotten, and, as to the infinite periods of time through which it has passed, or is to pass, it is subject to change; and may be considered as a sort of mansion for Gods and men: or as a city of which the Gods are the governours; men the governed.

[4] Cleanthes affirmed that Zeno, with Heraclitus and others, placed the nature of the soul in sense, or vapour. Κλεάνθης μὲν....φησὶν ὅτι Ζήνων ψυχὴν λέγει αἴσθησιν, ἢ ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος. And again. Souls arise as vapour from things humid. καὶ ψυχαὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιῶνται. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xx. D. See the whole of the article, with the refutation from Longinus, ib. cap. xxi.

shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers[5]? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved; the things also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning[6], these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen[7], and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again,

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[5] The soul, they say, is both generative and perishable; but is not dissolved with the body, but remains of itself for some time: but the souls of the studious will endure till the general conflagration; while those of the ignorant will endure only for a certain period of time. "Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν γενητήν τε καὶ φθαρτὴν λέγουσιν· οὐκ εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν φθείρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένειν τινὰς χρόνους καθ' ἑαυτήν. τὴν μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων, μέχρι τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων, πρὸς ποσούς τινας χρόνους." Ib. cap. xx. p. 822. B.C. It is added, that the souls of the ignorant, as well as those of the irrational animals, will perish with their bodies. The xxii. Chapter, ib. contains a long and valuable article on these matters from Plotinus.—See also Theod. Græc. affect. Curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 195. seq.

[6] There can be no doubt, I think, that this notion, about an universal conflagration, was originally taken from the Bible, and misapplied both by heathens and believers. The first passage occurs in Deut. xxxii. 22—24.; the last, 2 Peter iii. 7, which, with all their parallels, cannot by any legitimate interpretation extend to any thing beyond the fall of Jerusalem, and of heathen Rome. In like manner, we have a sort of Millennium and of Antichrist, common to both Mohammedans and Christians, and misapplied by both.

[7] Syr. ܗܠܝܢ ܘܫܘܓܝ ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ. *That again Helen and the evils of Ilium.* Anaximander also held, that the world would be dissolved and again produced. Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. p. 548. B.C. seq.

Anytus[1], and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves: the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials[2]. And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error!

22. The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the "primitive (students of) Physics"[3], (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean[4], the Parent of all; for thus they named the humid substance and waters: others, fire[5]; others, the

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[1] Syr. ܐܢܛܘܣ ܘܡܠܝܛܘܣ, *Anytus and Melitus.* Two persons who were particularly unfriendly to Socrates, and at length brought about his condemnation. See Plato's Apology for Socrates, and Diogenes Laërtius II. 38: Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos, near the beginning: and Origen contra Cels. Lib. IV. p. 208. seq.

[2] On this general conflagration, see the Prep. Evang. ib. capp. xviii. xix. p. 820. In the former, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, are said to have been the most ancient teachers of this doctrine.

[3] Syr. ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܦܝܣܩܐ. Among these Thales the Milesian, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Leucippus, Heraclitus, Epicurus, and others. The person, who according to Brucker was peculiarly styled "*Physicus,*" was Strato of Lampsaca, the successor of Theophrastus in the Lyceum. (Vol. I. p. 845. See ib. p. 458. seq.)

[4] Syr. ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ. So Thales, Brucker, &c. ib. p. 465. seq. So the Brahmins of India of the present, and former times. Which is probably nothing more than the Chaos of the Bible. According to Brucker however, it is very doubtful whether Thales was atheistic, grounding this on the requirements of the emanation system. He got his philosophy in Egypt, according to Plutarch; but see the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIV. cap. xiv. the various opinions of this subject, as cited from Plutarch, and followed by the comment of our author.

[5] This was the opinion of Heraclitus, and Hippasus, who added, that as fire was the origin of all, so should it be the destruction. Anaximander too, according to Plutarch (de Placit. Philos.) affirmed that God was a globe of fire.

air[6]; and others, a compound[7] of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory[8]. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

23. Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned;—that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety[9].

24. Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second ([10]Cause), who is the Creator of all.

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[6] This was the opinion of Anaximenes, while Archelaus made both the air and infinity the origin of all things: Anaximander, infinity only. Pythagoras—the prince of Philosophers—number, and its proportions.

[7] Empedocles held, that the Elements of all were fire, air, earth, and water; while the Principles were, Friendship and Discord: the one uniting all things; the other dissevering them. For a more particular account of these Philosophers, see Brucker, Tom. II. Pars. II. Lib. II. cap. i. seq.

[8] In the abominations practised in most of their mysteries, as of Venus, the Eleusinian, &c. of the Phallus in Egypt, of the Fascinus of the Vestals, and of the Lingam of the Hindoos even at this day; many of which obtained among the Gnostics, and do now among the Druzes on Mount Libanus. See also Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. I. p. 482.

[9] These were termed Atheïsts by the philosophers generally. See Vossius de Idololatria.. Lib. I. c. 3...Brucker, Tom. I. Index Atheus. Lactan. De falsa relig. Lib. I. cap. ii. &c.

[10] To our author's fondness of this philosophy, of *First* and *Second Cause*, and to the particularity with which he followed it up, may perhaps be ascribed all the bad names bestowed on him, both by the ancients and moderns. When arguing with the philosophers of his day, he would, naturally enough, seize upon those things which they appeared to hold in common with himself; and might thence be tempted also to adopt

25. He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all[1].

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adopt their illustrations, to an extent which would prove unfavourable to himself in the end,—a mistake more frequently committed, perhaps, than most men are aware. In his Præparatio Evangelica he has I think, given good proof of this. In Book VII. ch. xi. and ib. Book XI. ch. xiii. he has shewn, that the Hebrews held, in common with Plato, the doctrine of *One only supreme God.* Again, Book VII. cap. xii. he gives us what he styles the Theology of the Hebrews on *the Second Cause, the second Essence, the Divine power, the first subsistence,* THE WORD (λόγος), *the Wisdom, and the Power, of God.* He then gives (cap. xiii.) the opinions of Philo Judæus on this subject, which are extremely curious; and then (cap. xiv.) those of Aristobulus on the same. Again (Book XI. ch. xiv.) we have Plato (ch. xv.), Philo, and (ch. xvi.) Plato again, and (ch. xvii.) Plotinus on Plato, (ch. xviii.) Numenius on Plato, and (ch. xix.) Amelius reasoning after St John, on the same subject. All of which, our author affirms, is in strict accordance with the mind of the sacred writers. And, I have no doubt, this is to a certain extent true: and, that these views originated in one common source, viz. the Sacred Scriptures. But then, several passages cited by Eusebius, have obviously been misunderstood by him, e.g. Job xxviii. 20; Ps. xxxii. 6, &c. Others have no authority, viz. Wisd. vi. 24: vii. 22: viii. 1. which are apocryphal. And again, in following out these views, (ib. Book VII. ch. xv. p. 325), he has unhappily adopted comparisons, which have brought upon him the charge of Arianism: although he has, perhaps, said nothing more than many of our own divines have, in the trite comparison, which makes the body of the Sun to represent the Father, the light issuing therefrom the Son, and the warmth the Holy Ghost. This subject will, however, be resumed in our Introduction, and entered into more particularly. This doctrine, of a Second Cause, is also to be found in Clemens. Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 708. B.

[1] Cicero, nevertheless, accuses him (as our author does) of the greatest inconsistency in these matters, e.g. De Nat. Deor. Lib. I. 13. 20. Ed. 1830. p. 818. "Jam de Platonis inconstantiæ longum est dicere..... quod vero sine corpore ullo Deum vult esse, ut Græci dicunt ἀσώματον..... Idem et in Timæo dicit, et in Legibus, et Mundum Deum esse, et Cœlum, et Astra, et Terram, et animos, et eos quos majorum institutis accepimus: quæ et per se sunt falsa perspicuè, et inter sese vehementer pugnantia." Of this *Maker* of the world, Cicero likewise takes notice; and, as it was not unlikely,—circumstanced as he was,—ridicules. Ib. cap. IX. 18. "Audite..... non futiles commenticiasque sententias, non *opificem ædificatoremque* mundi, Platonis de Timæo Deum: nec anum fatidicam Stoïcorum Πρόνοιαν," &c. For a full and accurate account of Plato, his Philosophy, Writings, &c., the reader is referred to Brucker. Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. I. Index, with the authors cited.

26. He also affirmed of the essence of the soul, that it is incorporeal and foreign to corruption. He was also cognizant of the intelligent Essences; and confessed, that the mind which is over all, (and) which we call THE WORD OF GOD, is King of all. To the same he gave the Rule over all, after the manner of a shipmaster, who well and duly provides for all: Him he also shewed was Governour [2]. This man alone, of all the Greeks, confessed—just as we do,—of THE WORD OF GOD the Creator of the world. But, he is at hand, and we may hear (this) from himself, when discoursing of God thus:—

27. "[3] Let us render honour, neither to that (heavenly body) which is of the year, nor to that of the month. Nor let us cut off to these indeed, any portion: neither the time in which it proceeds in its orbit, and completes the visible world, which THE WORD OF GOD has set in order. Of all who are in it, he who is happy will have wondered

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[2] See the Prep. Evang. Lib. XII. cap. LI. p. 626. B. seq. ib. p. 627. B. C. seq. it. 628. B. seq. it. cap. LII.

[3] This passage occurs in the Prep. Lib. XI. cap. XVI. and there said to be taken from the Epimenides of Plato. But no dialogue bearing that title is now to be found among the writings of Plato, as Viger has remarked in his notes. (Prep. Evang. p. 51. notes.) It occurs, however, in the Epinomis, §. 9. (p. 30. Edit. Lond. 1826.) And there runs thus: "καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδιδῶμεν μὴ τῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, τῷ δὲ μῆνα, τοῖς δὲ μή τέ τινα μοῖραν τάττωμεν μή τέ τινα χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ διεξέρχεται τὸν αὑτοῦ πόλον, ξυναποτελῶν κόσμον ὃν ἔταξε λόγος ὁ πάντων θειότατος ὁρατόν, ὃν ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων πρῶτον μὲν ἐθαύμασεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔρωτα ἔσχεν (εσχε. Euseb.) τοῦ καταμαθεῖν ὁπόσα θνητῇ φύσει δυνατά. The Latin translator (as given in this edition) has..."quem ratio omnium divinissima visibilem statuit." The accuracy of which I greatly doubt. ἔταξε, I think, cannot fairly be rendered here by "*statuit*:" if so "*visibilem statuit*," gives an erroneous sense, if not an unmeaning one. The text of Eusebius omits the word ὁρατόν: which the Syriac translator has, however, preserved; and, as it appears to me, has properly applied. The Syr. has here, ܕܢܬܪܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ ܠܟܠ, which is perhaps, defective: the Greek requiring, ὅσα ἐστὶν ὁρατὸν ἅπαντα. The place is cited (as Viger also tells us) by Cyril. Alexan. Lib. VIII. against Julian, (Edit. Spanh. p. 271. 2.) and by Theodoret, Græcar. affect. Edit. 1642. Tom. IV. p. 499. Edit. Gaisford, p. 89. See also the note to the Lond. Edit. of Plato, as above.

(at Him), and afterwards acquired such love, as to investigate (Him) as far as mortal nature is able.

28. This man moreover, now calls THE DIVINE WORD, the Father, the Lord of all, and also Governour of all, in the very same words, and names Him just as we do; expressing himself thus:—

29. "This[1] Epistle, all you who consist of three should read, particularly in society: but, if not, between

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[1] This passage occurs in the sixth Epistle of Plato, (Edit. London, 1826. p. 96.) and is given by Eusebius, (Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xvi. Edit. Viger. p. 534.) also by Cyril of Alexandria, against Julian (Edit. Spanh. p. 271.), by Theodoret—for the most part—(Græc. affect. curatio. Serm. ii. Edit. 1642. p. 498. Tom. iv. Edit. Gaisford, p. 87.) and by (Clemens. Alexand. Strom. v. pp. 436, 598: and Origen contra Celsum Lib. vi. p. 280. See ib. p. 308. The text of the London Edition is as follows: "Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντας ὑμᾶς τρεῖς ὄντας ἀναγνῶναι χρή, μάλιστα μὲν ἀθρόους, εἰ δὲ μή, κατὰ δύο κοινῇ κατὰ δύναμιν ὡς οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ πλειστάκις, καὶ χρῆσθαι συνθήκῃ καὶ νόμῳ κυρίῳ, ὅ ἐστι δίκαιον, ἐπομνύντας σπουδῇ τε ἅμα μὴ ἀμούσῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφῇ παιδεᾷ, καὶ τὸν τῶν πάντων θεὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων, τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου πατέρα κύριον ἐπομνύντας, ὅν, ἂν ὄντως φιλοσοφῶμεν, εἰσόμεθα πάντες, σαφῶς εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμόνων." Euseb. here reads, παιδείᾳ, for παιδεᾷ: and ἐὰν ὀρθῶς, for ἂν ὄντως: so the Syr. ܐܝܟ ܕܫܪܝܪ, ὀρθώς. He also has πομνύντας for ἐπομνύντας, a mere error of the press. Cyrill omits ἐστὶ, after οἷόν τε: but has νόμῳ κυρίῳ τούτῳ: it. καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς...παιδείᾳ: it. καὶ τὸν πάντων Θεὸν: it omits ἐπομνύντας, after κύριον: it. ἐὰν ὀρθῶς, with Euseb. and ends with εἰσόμεθα. Theodoret commences at ἐπομνύντας: reads παιδείᾳ with Euseb. and Cyrill: it. καὶ τὸν πάντων θεῶν. It. ἐὰν ὀρθῶς, with Euseb. Cyrill, and the Syr. It. φιλοσοφῆτε εἴσεσθε: and here his extract ends. See also Viger's notes to Prep. Evang. p. 51. The Syr. has ܥܒܕܘܢ, *ye be considering*, where there can be no doubt, ܨܒܝܬܘܢ, *ye use, avail yourselves of*, is the true reading, which will correspond exactly with the Gr. χρῆσθαι: allowing duly for the idioms of both these languages. (it): it also reads, καὶ νόμῳ, καὶ κυρίῳ τούτῳ, which Viger condemns; "καὶ δύο κοινῇ, and κατὰ δύναμιν, he suspects, but without any good reason; all of which the Syriac supports. It should be observed, that our Syrian Translator has in no case here used the Greek κύριος in the sense of "*ratus*," unless, indeed, ܡܗܝܡܢ was used in that sense: but of this we have no evidence.

two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care;—not without wisdom,—and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye:—Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men."

30. This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the Godhead[2]; be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly[4], (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falschood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Piræus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis[3], together with all the inhabitants. And again,

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[2] The passage here imitated is cited by Laërtius, Plato. Lib. III. Segm. 78. "Τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν, αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. This latter part is taken, very freely, by the Syriac Translator, who gives ⟨ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲕⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲛⲧⲉ⟩.

[3] Syr. ⟨ⲃⲉⲛⲇⲓⲥ⟩. The Βενδιδία ἑορτὴ of the Athenians, called also Βενδίδεια, and Βένδεια. In the Lexicon to the Timæus of Plato, *Bendis* is said to be the same with Artemis (Diana), a Thracian word: and, that Bendidia signifies the feast of Diana, with the Thracians. "Βένδις. ἡ Ἄρτεμις· Θρᾳκεῖα φωνή· καὶ Βενδίδια, Ἀρτέμιδος ἑορτὴ παρὰ Θρᾳξίν." The term occurs in Plato's Polit. (Lond. Edit. p. 326. Tom. VI.—Steph. p. 354.) Eusebius had in view, perhaps, the following passage of Origen against Celsus, (VII. p. 277.) when he wrote this: viz. "Ἀλλ' οἱ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγαθοῦ γράψαντες καταβαίνουσιν εἰς Πειραίεα, προσευξόμενοι ὡς θεῷ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι· καὶ

he himself said of his master, that, when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush;—nor was it concealed:—that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood;—the body of a dead bird[1]! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences[2], because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to

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καὶ ὀψόμενοι τὴν τῶν Βενδιδείων ἐπιτελουμένην πανήγυριν." *But they, who wrote such things about the supreme good, go down to the Piræus to pray to the Goddess Diana, and to see the celebration of the feast of Bendis.* I adopt the reading of Hemsterhusius, which receives no small degree of authority from this place of Eusebius. The place of Plato, is probably that on which the Scholiast has thus remarked: (London Edit. Tom. IX. p. 89.) Σωκράτης, εἰς πειραῖα ἀφικόμενος τῆς τῶν Βενδιδείων ἑορτῆς ἕνεκα καὶ πομπῆς, διείλεκται περὶ πολιτείας. κ. τ. λ. The allusion here is to the Polit. I. p. 253. Lond. Edit. It stands thus: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραῖα μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος προσευξόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑορτὴν κ. τ. λ. See the notes here. On which the Scholiast (Tom. IX. p. 67. seq.) gives some further particulars stating, that this feast was common both to the Athenians and Thracians, and was celebrated at the Piræus on the 19th day of the month Thargelion. The Syriac ܚܕܝܡ is an error perhaps of some Copyist, for ܚܕܝܡ. It is however, a fact, as remarked long ago by Kirsch, (Pref. ad Pentat. Syr. Lips. 1787), that the Syrians avoid as much as possible the concurrence of two Dolaths: "ܕ duplex ante ܪ non fertur," says Kirsch, (ib. p. xi.); "quam ob rem sequens ܕ in ܝ mutatur, e.g. ܕܪܢ, ܝܪܢ," so ib. ܝܡܫ for ܕܐܪܢ.

[1] In the Phædo of Plato, §. 155. Lond. Edit. Vol. V. p. 409, see the notes. It. Lactantius, iii. 20, "de falsa sapientia." See also Spencer's note on Origen (contra Cels. Lib. VI. p. 277. notes, p. 74.), where we are told, that this is to be taken figuratively.

[2] Syr. ܕܒܟܠܐ ܕܣܛܢܐ.

falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the Timæus[3]:—

31. "To[4] speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assent however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed: and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs[5]. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers); (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these affirmed a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean[6] and

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[3] Syr. ܒܬܝܡܐܘܣ. An error, for ܒܛܝܡܐܘܣ, i.e. *in the Timæus:* the passage is noted below.

[4] The passage is accordingly, found in the Timæus, and stands thus: "Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, πειστέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δέ που τούς γε αὑτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καί περ ἄνευ τε εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκεῖα φάσκουσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν ἑπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἐκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὠκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ῥέα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας Ζεὺς Ἥρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους." (London Edit. 1826. Vol. VII. p. 277.) The Syr. Translator seems to have read τὴν δύναμιν, instead of τὴν γένεσιν. "*That they were,*" &c. Syr. ܕܗܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܘ might have been intended to mean, "*Since they were,*" &c. the Syriac being ambiguous here. I have given however, the more usual and obvious force of the Syriac. It. ἐκείνους ἡ γένεσις, omitting ἡμῖν: which is perhaps correctly omitted. It. καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, he also omits, if it is not an omission by some copyist. It. for καὶ πάντες, καὶ ἄλλους. Theod. has a few unimportant various readings; but ends his extract at τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. The same is the case with the extract as given by Cyrill.

[5] So also Cicero (Natura Deorum, Lib. III. §. 6.)..."Majoribus autem nostris etiam nulla reddita ratione, credere." And again, as cited by Lactantius: "non esse illa vulgo disputanda, ne susceptas publice religiones disputatio talis extinguat." Lib. II. cap. ii.

[6] The Syriac proper names are thus written, ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ, Ὠκεανός; ܬܝܬܝ,

Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these."

32. You (now) view the very Philosopher—who is from above[1], and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal,—beneath on the earth and on the ocean, immerged as it were in the depths of error[2]! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods,—him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man,—

"What[3] is that which always is, but that it might

ܬܘܬܐ, Τηθύς: ܦܘܪܩܘܣ, φόρκυς: ܩܪܘܢܘܣ, Κρόνος: ܪܥܝܐ, Ῥέα: ܙܐ, Ζεύς: ܗܪܐ, Ἥρα. The above passage is also cited by Theodoret (Græc. affect. curat. Sermo. III. p. 474, 511. Gaisford p. 119.) and by Cyrill. Alexand. against Julian. Lib. VIII. p. 269. Eusebius Prep. Evang. Lib. II. cap. vii. Lib. XIII. cap. i. xiv. also by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. pp. 63 and 69, and Prep. Evang. Lib. XIV. cap. iv. p. 723. A. From Homer. Il. Ξ. 201, and cited by Plato in the Theætatus,—

"Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μήτερα Τηθύν."

Where the latter says, Ὅμηρος εἰπὼν Ὠκεανόν τε...πάντα εἴρηκεν ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως. Clarke's Homer, ib. Noticed also by Aristotle, (Metaphysics, Lib. I. cap. iii.) in these words, "Ὠκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὺν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας. "Oceanum namque et Tethyn generationis parentes esse cecinerunt." Syr. ܒܢܝ ܬܬܐ. It. Thodoret. Gr. affect. curat. Serm. I. p. 486, and Athenagoras, Legat. pro. Christ. p. 64, where this argument is powerfully urged: it. Theophilus ad Autolycum. Lib. II. ab initio: and the Homilia Clementina sexta. ii. Vol. I. p. 670. Edit. 1724.

[1] It is probable, I think, that Eusebius had a passage, in a work ascribed to Justin Martyr, here in view: viz. "Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἄνωθεν καταληλυθὼς, καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἅπαντα ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς, τὸν ἀνωτάτω Θεὸν ἐν τῇ πυρώδει οὐσίᾳ εἶναι λέγει. For Plato indeed, as coming from above, and having seen and learned accurately all things in the heavens, says, that the most high God exists in a fiery essence. Paræn. ad Græcos, p. 12. Edit. Steph.

[2] Syr. ܛܥܝܬܐ. The "*Ideas*" of Plato are perhaps alluded to here. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. xxiii. xv. xiii. XLV. it. Lib. XII. xix. p. 593. B.

[3] This passage, which has been rendered insuperably obscure by its interpreters, stands thus in the Prep. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. ix. [Τί τὸ

exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible; that it might fully exist, it never had even being."

34. This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours this identical (something,)—this which was, and is corruptible, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and dissoluble character,—with the name of gods! And again the very same, (virtually) reprehending the expositors of this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused them in this manner, he afterwards says, "We give our assent to them, and approve;" when, behold! they had said nothing truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods,

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ὂν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ] τί τὸ γινόμενον μὲν ἀεὶ, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ, νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄν· τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστὸν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν. It is repeated, ib. cap. x. with a few unimportant variations. The former is evidently said of God, as being a spirit, self-existing and eternal; the latter, of matter, as continually existing, yet subject to change, and having no existence in itself. Eusebius thinks that this passage, is an imitation of the אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה of Exod. iii. 14. *I am He who exists* (permanently and of self.) Justin Martyr too, cites it with a similar application. Paræn. ad Græc. p. mihi. 21. It. Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. II. p. 491. Edit. Gaisford, p. 72. The Syriac does not contain that part which I have placed between brackets in the Greek. Athenagoras supplies a good comment on the terms here used, (Legat. Christ. p. 63.) and on the very same passage of Plato. His words are, "εἰ γὰρ γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ὄντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν θεολογοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν. ἢ γὰρ ἀγένητόν τι, καὶ ἔστιν ἀΐδιον· ἢ γενητὸν, φθαρτόν ἐστι." "Si geniti sunt, nec erant antea (ut aiunt qui inter illos res divinas explicant) non sunt. Res enim omnis, aut ingenita, aut genita est: hæc corruptibilis, illa æterna." On the place itself he says: "περὶ νοητοῦ καὶ αἰσθητοῦ διαλεγόμενος ὁ Πλάτων, τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ὂν, τὸ νοητὸν, ἀγένητον εἶναι διδάσκει· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ αἰσθητὸν γενητόν." "Disserit autem (Plato) de intelligibili et sensibili: et ens sempiternum, quod intellectu solo percipitur, ingenitum esse docet: sensibile contrà, genitum et non ens." So also Theophilus ad Autolycum, Lib. II. near the beginning.

he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, "It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;" still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, "We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own" (fathers.) He says not—and (this) fully and carefully,—that they narrated; but, as "they said that they narrated;" and, we "assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods." And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: "Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;" necessarily, says he, just as these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed[1]!

35. You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law: that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, "We, adhering to the Law, believe." The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things,

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[1] This argument is also touched upon by Cyrill of Alexandria in his work against Julian. (Edit. Spanh. p. 284.) The Syriac here speaks in the first person, as is usual with Oriental writers: thus, لا بمحمد. لا أمر بمكم أنا أمر هكذا بحدثم. *For not as my opinion, but as theirs:* i.e. Plato here makes the statement, not as resting on his authority, but on theirs. See also Vossius de Orig. et prog. idololatriæ, Lib. I. cap. xli. p. 151. and the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. i.

which the same elegant tongue,—(and) wholly for the sake of which,—said in astonishing language, and thus magnificently?—

36. "For[2] there is neither law, nor any one ordinance superior to erudition; nor is it just, that the mind be subservient or subjected to any thing: it is, on the contrary, Prince of all, if indeed it be free in its nature." This same too, is he who said, that "Wheresoever[3] a man places himself, thinking it to be best, there he ought, as I think, to remain, (even) in the storm; making no account of any thing, neither of death, nor of any other thing, before things hateful." He also said afterwards; "For[4] this, that one should fear death, O men, would be nothing else, but that we should suppose him to be wise when he is not so."

37. How then can you, O Philosopher! be moved by death after these expressions? or, draw near to

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[2] Theodoret (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. v. p. 547: Gaisford's Edit. p. 207. seq.) gives the opinion of Plato very much as it is here stated, but he does not cite this place. I have to thank Mr Professor Scholefield for pointing it out to me: otherwise I fear the work must have gone to press without it. It will be found in the London Edit. Tom. VIII. p. 446. Bekk. p. 162. Legg. ix. as follows. "Ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε τάξις οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστι νοῦν οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοον οὐδὲ δοῦλον, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἐάν περ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε ὄντως ᾖ κατὰ φύσιν." Our translator does not seem to have read ἀληθινὸς...τε, in his copy.

[3] This appears to be the passage cited from the Apology of Socrates, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. x. (Edit. Viger. p. 660. B.) thus:—"Οὗ ἄν τις αὐτὸν τάξῃ, ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι...ἐνταυθα δεῖ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενον, μήτε θάνατον, μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν, πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ."

[4] This is also taken from the Apology of Socrates, and occurs, Prep. Evang. ib. D. as spoken by Socrates: "καὶ δεδιὼς θάνατον, καὶ οἰόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὤν. τὸ γάρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ὦ ἄνδρες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν, ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι, μὴ ὄντα." A similar sentiment is found in the Crito, (Euseb. ib. cap. vi. p. 651.) "Ταῖς μὲν δεῖ τῶν δοξῶν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ταῖς δὲ, οὔ· ἢ πρίν με δεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν, καλῶς ἐλέγετο." (Crito. Ed. Lond. Tom. II. p. 386.) From p. 651 to p. 691. Ib. Prep. Evang. much matter is cited to shew, that Plato received many of his notions from Holy Writ.

honour mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise[1] (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry:—

38. Of the Earth, you say[2], and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant?—Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest:—

39. "The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons[3]?"

40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these (viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and

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[1] Syr. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ, which ought, probably, to be ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ.

[2] Syr. ܐܡܪ, i. q. Heb. לֵאמֹר, as Michaelis thinks, and perhaps, correctly.

[3] Justin Martyr (Paræn. ad Græcos. p. 27.) thus introduces a part of this passage:..."ὁρμώμενος ὁ μεγαλόφωνος Πλάτων μετὰ πολλῆς παῤῥησίας βοᾷ λέγων, ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων"...which, he says, is copied, from the Cherubim of Scripture. This passage, occurring amongst the most fanciful and silly matter of any in Plato, and honoured probably more frequently by citation than any other, is to be found in the Phædrus (Edit. Lond. 1826.) Vol. I. p. 78, where it stands thus: "ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται, διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· τῷ δ' ἕπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων." See the notes here. It has been cited by Clemens Alexand. Cohort. ad Gentes. et Strom. v. 598. Sylb. (T. II. p. 709. Potter) Stob. Serm. v. p. 67. v. 32. Spanheim. ad Julian. Orat. I. p. 119. and Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. 69, &c.

Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that "they are the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs." And he adds; "Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed." After this he makes a long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets[4]. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

41. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating,—stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics[5], drives

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[4] Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. favours us with several citations from the Poets, &c. to this effect, Serm. I. p. 476. seq.

[5] This is followed out (in the Prep. Evang. Lib. XII. cap. xlix.) by citations from the tenth Book of Plato's Republic, where we are told, among other things, that neither Homer nor any of the Poets ever arrived at the truth: "*οὐκοῦν τιθῶμεν ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου ἀρξάμενοι, πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μιμητὰς εἰδώλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ ὧν ποιοῦσι. τῆς δ' ἀληθείας οὐχ ἅπτεσθαι.*" But, it is in the second Book that he more largely and particularly proscribes them, as cited by Eusebius (Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. iii. p. 641. seq. Edit. Viger.) One passage or two, in illustration of our text, must suffice here: "*Οὓς Ησίοδός τε, εἶπον, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην, καὶ ἄλλοι Ποιηταί· οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους ψευδεῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συντίθεντες, ἔλεγόν τε καὶ λέγουσι.* Those, I said, whom Hesiod, Homer, and the other Poets told us of: for these, putting together lying fables for men, did, and do, relate these. (Repub. II. Edit. Lond. p. 376. Tom. VI.) A little lower down, he forbids the introduction of such tales to his Republic thus: "*καὶ γὰρ, ἦδ' ὅς, οὗτοί γε οἱ λόγοι χαλεποί. καὶ οὐ λεκτέοι γε ἔφην, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει.*" (Edit. Lond. ib. p. 378.) For indeed, says he, these are difficult words; nor, adds he are they to be spoken, O Adeimantus, in our city.—Such teaching, he goes on to say, is injurious both to God and man: and here he speaks—reasonably enough—of God, as the author of all good: and of youth,

away contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods! —those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too,—subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption!—that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who—as he affirms—are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods[1]! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form[2]? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption? It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, attached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than all

youth, as but too easily corrupted by such tales as those of wars, intrigues, adulteries, &c. of the Gods, all are. The same argument is prosecuted much at length by Theodoret, (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. II. p. 486. seq. Tom. IV.)

[1] The same too, and in nearly the same words, is given by Theodoret. (Ib. pp. 475, 490. seq. and 512. seq.)

[2] Much interesting matter to this effect cited from Plato, will be found, Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. i. seq. See also Viger's notes. The place alluded to here, is in the Phædrus, Lond. Edit. Vol. I. p. 82. See the notes: cited also by Origen contra Cels. Lib. VI. p. 288. Edit. Spencer.

others. For he,—whose (main) desire was to live, while those things which attached themselves to his doctrine (virtually) effected his condemnation to death; and, while his opinion was that, (these) were no Gods;—he did nevertheless submit himself (to them), as if he recognized no other life, but that only which was present.

42. The Peripatetics[3] too, so attached themselves to a belief, similar to that of the Originator[4] of this Philosophy, that they supposed the soul which is in man to be mortal; and affirmed, that its form and body, was (what they termed) the *Entelechia*[5]. For the sake of the present life,—which alone they acknowledged,—they submitted to the many. They believed too, that those were never Gods, which were (made) such by the law of the commonwealth[6]: they submitted themselves (nevertheless to these) through the fear of death, and of the punishment of the Law.

43. The Stoïcs[7] again, who taught that all was body, and that this sensible world alone was God, and that the (constituent) portions of this were Gods, persuaded themselves to do the things—although these might be odious,—which were conformable to these their precepts! And, because they called the (constituent) portions of the world Gods, and worshipped the earthy substance, How could

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[3] These were the followers of Aristotle. See sect. 20 above, also Bruckeri, Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. I. p. 78, seq. Syr. ܐܣܛܘܩܝ.

[4] Syr. ܫܪܝܪܐ. This word occurs in none of the Dictionaries, but, as it is evidently derived from the root ܫܪܪ, and is apparently the participle of the Pahel form, where it signifies *incepit*, there can be little doubt, that *Originator*, or the like, is its signification.

[5] This section is in the Syriac extremely elliptical. See also sect. 20, below.

[6] Syr. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. The Republic or commonwealth under which they lived, as it appears to me.

[7] On these, see the Prep. Evang. Index sub voce Stoïci, particularly Lib. xv. cap. xviii. Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. I. p. 893. seq. Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. p. 17: it. pp. 156, 309, &c. Syr. ܣܛܘܝܩܝܐ, occasionally ܣܛܘܝܐ, and ܣܛܘܝܩܝ: and in several other words the orthography occasionally varies.

they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i. e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is "which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself);" and what that is "which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself[1]." He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: "God[2] therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law." But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too,—this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens,—to fear Death[3]? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of

[1] Sect. 33, above.

[2] This is taken from the Fourth Book of the Laws, and stands thus as cited by Eusebius (Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xiii. p. 531.) "Ὁ μὲν δὴ Θεὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἔχων, εὐθείαν περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος. τῷ δ' αἰεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη, τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός." It is found in the London Edit. Tom. viii. p. 111, where it is shewn to be cited, or alluded to, in "Clemens Alexand. Strom. ii. p. 418. B. (T. i. p. 499. Potter) Comp. p. 609. D. Cohort. ad Gen. p. 60. Pott. Aristot. de Mundo, C. 7. Plutarch. de Exil. p. 601. A. adv. Colot. p. 1124. F. Justin Mart. Cohort. ad Græc. C. 25. p. 25. E. Origen adv. Cels. vi. p. 285, &c. Suid. T. iii. p. 125. et Cedren. Histor. Comp. p. 159. Ast." The passage is evidently taken from the Fragments of Orpheus, Prep. Evang. xiii. 12. p. 666.) which is this: "Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων, καὶ μέσσου, ἠδὲ τελευτὴν, ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων." The remaining part is found, ib. p. 798. See also the references in the London Edition of Plato, Tom. viii. p. 112. Also, Prep. Evang. ib. p. 100. and p. 685. D.

[3] Theodoret also brings this charge against Plato, Græc. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 138.

the immortality of the soul, because he made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedgehogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers! He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner[4], that these same effected a change into every sort of body; those of men being transfusable into the beastly nature. On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval[5], but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man: because "*he knew God*[6], *but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator.*" He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards

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[4] Allusion is, perhaps, here made to a passage in the Timæus, (Edit. Lond. Tom. VII. p. 280. seq.)... "σφαλεὶς δὲ τούτων εἰς γυναικὸς φύσιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ γενέσει μεταβαλοῖ· μὴ πανόμενος δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἔτι κακίας, τρόπον ὃν κακύνοιτο, κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς τοῦ τρόπου γενέσεως εἴς τινα τοιαύτην ἀεὶ μεταβαλοῖ θήρειον φύσιν κ. τ. λ." "Contra vero agentes cogi in ortu secundo, sexu mutato, fieri mulierem, et qui ne tum quidem finem peccandi faciet, qua tenus depravatur, eatenus in brutorum naturam suis moribus similem permutari." Which is a full recognition of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xvi. where the same question is discussed.

[5] Sect. 31, above.

[6] Passages, it. Lib. XIII. cap. xviii. to the same effect will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. XI. capp. xxxi, xxxii. seq. from the Timæus, &c. The Scripture cited is, Rom. i. 21, 25, but is rather accommodated here, than exactly quoted.

confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him,—as the thing said is at hand,—saying in the Timæus:—

45. "Gods[1] of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble." And again[2] (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says[3]: "What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth: out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and

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[1] Considerable extracts to this effect are given from the Epinomis, the Timæus, and the Tenth book of the Laws of Plato, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xviii.

[2] This passage has been cited by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. VI. p. 281.) also by Eusebius, Prep. Evang. Lib. XI. cap. xxxii. p. 559.—it. Lib. XIII. cap. xviii. p. 703. seq.—where it stands thus: "Θεοὶ Θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς, πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γενόμενα, ἄλυτα ἐμοῦ γε θέλοντος·" ἐπάγει λέγων ἐξῆς. "Τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν, λυτόν· τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἁρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ, λύειν ἐθέλειν, κακοῦ. διὸ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὔκ ἐστε, οὐδ' ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν." "Hæc vos qui Deorum satu orti estis attendite: Quorum operum ego parens, effectórque sum, quæ per me facta, non sunt dissoluta me invito. Subdit quanquam omne colligatum, solvi potest. Sed haud quaquam boni est, ratione vinctum velle dissolvere. Sed quoniam orti estis, immortales vos quidem esse et indissolubiles non potestis." It is also cited by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christianis, p. 54. Edit. 1624.

The place is found, Edit. Lond. Tom. VII. p. 277. seq. See the notes there given. The Syr. has ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ, *God of the Gods:* but, as the mark of the plural number (Ribbui) is very often omitted in the MS. I have felt no difficulty in translating the passage here, as if it had been inserted. It exhibits the place moreover, with some omissions. But this might have been intended by Eusebius himself.

[3] Ib. pp. 261,..."ὅ τί περ πῦρ πρὸς ἀέρα, τοῦτο* ἀέρα πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅ τι ἀὴρ πρός ὕδωρ, τοῦτο ὕδωρ πρὸς γῆν, ξυνέδησε καὶ ξυνεστήσατο οὐρανὸν ὁρατὸν καὶ ἁπτόν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων τοιούτων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεττάρων, τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σῶμα ἐγεννήθη." Prep. Evang. p. 702. See Viger's notes, p. 67.

* This is a suspected reading, and perhaps had no existence in the Greek text. See the notes, and var. readings here.

the number of which is four, the body of the world came into being." After this he says: "And[4], as to the existence of time, in order that time might be, the Sun, the Moon, and the five other Stars, which have the title of wandering (planetary), came into existence; (and this) for its determination, preservation, and calculation. So God made each one of these bodies, and placed them (each) in (its) course." And again, he says of the heavens[5], how they existed in all time; there being no beginning of the essence (of these) not even one: or being, of what sort this was in its primitive commencement. He then turns his discourse to his soul, and says, "it became existent, is visible, is subject to sense, and has a body: and, that all such things are thus subject to sense, and, that those which are subject to sense, are apprehended by thought, and (so) perceived to be existences[6].

46. Was it not therefore, lapsing far from soundness of mind, that he, who spoke so orderly and well of these things, should call them Gods? that he should confess also, that they were made out of the perishable and corporeal matter of fire, water, air, and earth? and affirm that they were subject to dissolution, and in their nature corruptible? and, again, should name these selfsame beings Gods to be honoured[7]? For, What participation can that Name and Honour have, which is the Cause of

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[4] Ib. p. 271.... "*πρὸς χρόνου γένεσιν, ἵνα γεννηθῇ χρόνος, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα, ἐπίκλην ἔχοντα πλανητά, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου γέγονε. σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκάστων ποιήσας ὁ θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφοράς.*" κ. τ. λ.

[5] Tim. Ed. Lond. p. 254. "*ὁ δὴ πᾶς οὐρανὸς ἢ κόσμος... γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχων οὐδεμίαν*, κ. τ. λ. is perhaps the place referred to.

[6] Of which this is, probably, the place in the original, (Edit. Lond. ib. p. 254.)..."*ὁρατὸς γὰρ ἁπτός τέ ἐστι καὶ σῶμα ἔχων, πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα, αἰσθητά, τὰ δὲ αἰσθητά, δόξῃ περιληπτὰ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως, γιγνόμενα καὶ γεννητὰ ἐφάνη.*"

[7] In the tenth Book of the Laws, not far from the beginning, Plato speaks very much as our author does; while he seems disposed to excuse the wanderings of antiquity as to these things. To no one, perhaps, can the words of Ovid be more properly applied; "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.*"

all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the WORD, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be[1], (i. e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are); so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures;—this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense:—this too, which is capable of action: and that, which is passive. How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the shipmaster[2]; or the coachman[3], the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him,—but he had openly confessed,—that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)!

47. But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in battle array, and met

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[1] That is, came into being such as ours is. See sect. 33, above.

[2] ܡܠܝܐ, Gr. κυβερνήτης.

[3] Syr. ܪܟܒܢܐ, Gr. ἡνίοχος. This argument is ably urged also by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. mihi 68. seq.

with shields, spears, and hosts,—as one[4] of the Poets says, "Behold the abundance of the uproar thickened—of the destroying and the perishing?"—for Plato termed their warfare with one another, the conflict of Giants when he thus spoke,—

48. "And[5] behold! the conflict between them might be assimilated to that of Giants, because of the contention they had with one another about matter."

49. Nevertheless, Plato himself said these things either against the Philosophers who were before him, or against those who were his contemporaries: and, that these also,—(as) he also afterwards cries out,—were those who took up arms against him, the evidence is clear. For Aristotle[6], who arranged himself against Plato, went off with his whole school from his doctrines.

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[4] The Syr. has ܒܪܒܘܝ ܡܢ, applying the *Ribbui* in an unusual manner. Examples however, of this sort occur in other places of this work, and even in the works of Ephrem Syrus as printed at Rome. Connection with a context implying plurality is, apparently the cause of this here, and perhaps elsewhere. Syr. ܗܘ ܕ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܬܕܐ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܬܕܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܬܕܡ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܬܕܐ ܠܗ. The term ܡܫܬܕܐ, occurs in no Syriac book to which I have access. It seems however, to have been preserved by the Rabbins, (Buxtorf. Lexicon. Chald. &c. col. 1561.) in לעבב את פני הרקיע. "*Obnubilat faciem firmamenti.*" The word however signifies, *the growing dense, thickening,* or the like; and is cognate with ܥܒܐ, "*condensatus est*" &c. The passage here translated is, I think, the one given, Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. vi. from the Iliad. Δ. 449. "Ἐπληντ' ἀλλήλοισι, πολὺς δ' ὀρυγμαδὸς ὀρώρει,...ὀλλύντων τε, καὶ ὀλλυμένων." "*Densantur clypei: vastus fragor undique surgit,*"..."*dum perimunt, pereuntque simul.*" In this part of the Prep. Evang. this subject is discussed much at length from Numenius the Pythagorean. Ib. cap. iv. seq. we have Plato against the Philosophers who preceded him.

[5] The passage here cited is given (Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. iv. p. 725.) by Eusebius, as from the Sophist, thus: "καὶ μὴν ἔοικέ γε ἐν αὐτοῖς, οἷον γιγαντομαχία τις εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους." It occurs in the London Edit. Tom. iv. p. 419. seq. and in Theodoret. Græc. affect. curatio. Serm. ii. p. 488. Tom. iv.

[6] Syr. ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ.

Others again, the Juniors[1] afterwards arose, who attacked the philosophical notions of Aristotle; and, on the other hand, animadverted on the Stoïcs[2]. Others, the Sceptics[3], put forth Pyrrho[4] and *the reserve*[5]: and, at once, ridiculed every body! For, they all fully equipped themselves for a mighty war of soul against one another[6]: and (this) by means of words, fell moreover, but little short of arming themselves, fighting, and attacking one another, with spears and shields! Where it was any thing but right, they divided: but, where it was necessary they should contend with all their power,—I know not how it was,—they agreed; and particularly in the error of a multiplicity of Gods! They agreed (I say) in that, which before all men, and more than all men, they knew was a non-entity! That is to say, the Epicureans, (agreeing) with the Stoïcs: the followers of Aristotle, with those of Plato: the professors of Physics, with the Sceptics; (these) one and all, together with their wives, their daughters, and the ignorant crowd, going to the Temples, and presenting themselves for the purpose of worshipping with (their) vows, as Gods, the inanimate Idols, (formed)

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[1] Probably the followers of the New Academy. See Brucker. Tom. i. p. 759. seq.

[2] ܐܣܛܘܝܩܝ. [3] ܐܣܟܦܛܝܩܝ. Gr. Σκεπτικοί.

[4] Syr. ܦܘܪܗܐ. *Pyrrho*, who was the originator of this sect. See Diog. Laërt. in his life, Bruckeri Hist. Philos. Crit. Tom. i. Pars. ii. Lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 1317: and Tom. ii. Per. ii. Pars. i. Lib. i. cap. ii. Sect. ix. p. 627. Suidas sub. voce Πύῤῥων, and Πυῤῥώνειοι. See also Euseb. Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xviii. seq.

[5] Syr. ܐܦܘܟܐ. Gr. ἐποχή. This is the term from which the Ἐφεκτικοί, *Ephectics* took their name: it is thus given in the Greek by Suidas: "Ἐφεκτικοὶ δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ζήτησιν πάθους, λέγω δὴ τὴν ἐποχήν." This place in Suidas is, cited from Laërtius, Lib. ix. seg. 70, who gives, λέγω δὲ, for the λέγω δὴ of Suidas. (Edit. Wetst.) The term (ἐποχή) also occurs Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. iv. p. 512. A.

[6] Theodoret. Græc. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 209. seq. urges this argument much at length. But see "Ioannis Luzacii de Theodoret. judicium," ib. p. 17, seq., who has shewn, that Theodoret copied Eusebius, in very many instances, without acknowledging the source from which he drew.

in the likeness of men: and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means,—and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another,—that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philosophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend,—because of the hidden and unknown properties of these,—they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind[7]: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them?

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[7] Our author seems here to allude to sentiments uttered by the leaders of the Sceptics. Suidas tells us (sub. voce πυῤῥώνειοι) that Archilochus said, "τοῖος ἀνθρώποις νοῦς γίνεται θνητοῖς, ὁκοίνην ζεὺς ἡμέρην ἄγει. "Talis est mens mortalium, qualem ipsis diem Jupiter dederit." And Euripides, "τί δῆτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς φρονεῖν λέγουσι. σοῦ γάρ ἐξηρτήμεθα· δρῶμέν τε τοιαῦθ', ἃ δὴ τυγχάνεις θέλων." "Quid mentis miseris aiunt mortalibus inesse? Nam pendemus a nutu tuo, et agimus omnia, quæ vis." I give this as I find it in Suidas (Edit. 1705.) where the editor proposes certain emendations. If the reader will turn to Laërtius (Edit. Wetsten, 1692, p. 585.) and to the notes of Menagius and Kühnius, on these places, he will find much said on these readings. The place of Euripides is found in the Supplices.

50. How was it then?—How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them?—since that of Delphos[1], and that of Lebadia[2], was (each) a Diviner?—that of Colophon[3] gave responses?—that of Miletus[4] was also a Diviner?—and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was

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plices. (Edit. Glasgow 1821, p. 283.) See the place with the notes.—So also Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. 55. and Lactantius. Much to the same effect will be found ascribed to them by Aristocles, Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiii. p. 759. seq.

[1] Delphos, Gr. *οἱ Δελφοί*. In Phocis, and said to be in the midst of all Greece, and of the earth as its navel, stood this celebrated city and Oracle, near the springs of Castalia.

[2] Lebadia, Gr. *λεβαδία*, and *λεβάδεια*, was near Phocis in Bœotia: it was famous for the Temple of Jupiter Trophonius, which it contained. Syr. ܠܒܕܝܐ. To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. iii. p. 131. seq.

[3] Colophon, Gr. *ἡ κολοφών*. Famous for the Clarian Apollo, who gave responses there. Syr. ܩܠܘܦܘܢ. A city of Ionia.

[4] Miletus, Gr. *Μίλητος*, an ancient and large city of Ionia, where there was a Temple of the Didymean Apollo, which was burnt down by Xerxes. Ib. cap. iii. Syr. ܡܝܠܛܘܣ. Some exceedingly interesting and valuable matter on these, and other Oracles of Greece, as well as of other places, will be found in the Prep. Evang. See the index, under Oracula. Also in Theodoret, Græcar. affect. curatio, Serm. x. Tom. iv. p. 623. seq. The latter is particularly valuable: as is also Origen's account of them. (contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 333. seq.)

the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to "*Rest*"[5] (as the chief good): nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies[6] the power of making the universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them. It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle,—who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth: not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place,—to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon[7]; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoïcs; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists[8]: and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown: but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even

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[5] See Sect. 19, above.

[6] Ib. Atoms. See also Theophilus ad Autolycum. Lib. III. p. mihi 144 seq. where we have some admirable remarks on this subject.

[7] See Sect. 20, above: Note.

[8] Syr. ܦܘܪܗܘܢܝܐ. We have, sect. 49, ܦܘܪܗܘܢܝ. The ܐ has here taken place of the ܝ. The contrary occasionally takes place in proper names, in the Syriac, see sect. 30, above: Note.

enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body:—these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not invidiously, give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only); but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz.) Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many; and it is likely (they did so).

51. But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body?—rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom; that they were labouring night and day

for the discovery of the truth; and were seeking (both) by labour and contention, for a decision as to the reverence due to these same Gods? And again, (these) went in among the Diviners, and offered sacrifices just as their Fathers had done; and honoured those (Gods) with the honours which they had by custom retained. Why then, did they not receive these with terms of affection? praise them for their labours? and, so delivering them from the contention which they had with one another, give them such aid from their labours, that they should become truly wise in God, and be (real) Philosophers?—and (thus) teach them the science of that true Philosophy, which is free from falsehood? But, as they did not this, they made it plain to every man's perception, that they were no Gods: and, that those who boasted that they were Philosophers, were unworthy of that name! For, had they been truly wise, they never could have supposed that these were Gods: inasmuch as they had afforded to them nothing worthy of Deity, nor had it in their power to teach those, who were anxiously careful about the knowledge respecting them, the things pertaining to Deity.

52. Thus these (Philosophers) became in (appearance) what they (really) were not[1]: besides, they presented themselves to the many, and called those Gods, which they knew more accurately than all (other) men, were no such things! What sort of name these deserve, it is not necessary for me further to say, except, that those who made their locks to flow down[2], frequented the Temples together with

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[1] The construction of the Syriac here is rare and remarkable: it stands thus: ܗܘܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܗܘ̈ ܗܘܝ ܗܘ̈ ܒܗ ܗܘ̈ ܟܝܢܐ. Lit. *And those then, what it was not, thus was their being.* Which will serve to illustrate the unusual combination ܗܘܝ ܟܝܢܐ, that often occurs in this work: where it will be seen, that ܗܘܝ, is used impersonally.

[2] This place seems obscure to me. The Syriac has ܟܬ̈ܝ ܒ̈ ܗܘܝ ܒ̈ ܟܬ̈ܝ ܒ̈ ܟܬ̈ܝ—Diog. Laërt. life of Antisthenes. "Διόδωρον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον, καὶ πώγωνα καθεῖναι, καὶ βάκτρῳ καὶ πήρᾳ χρῆσθαι."—The Philosophers dressed both their hair and beard, so Plutarch cited by Stephens (Thesaur. Græc. sub voce Τρίβων.) "Ἂν δὲ θηρεύῃ φιλόλογον καὶ φιλομαθῆ νέον, αὖθις ἐν βιβλίοις ἐστὶ, καὶ πώγων ποδήρης

tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of them!—nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them[1]. But (the things asked) were,—as the Diviners (themselves) say,—the commodities and helps of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife[2]; or, other things similar to these. About these it was,

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καθείται, καὶ τριβωνοφορία τὸ σχῆμα." It is added, "*Solebant enim, Philosophi barbam ad pedes usque promittere et pallium gestare.*" This passage seems to be quite in the spirit of that given by our author. There is another passage in Plutarch, which speaks of nourishing the hair as commendable: (Life of Lysander, 1st. par.) speaking of the image of Lysander as, "εὖ μάλα κομῶντος ἐπὶ τῷ παλαιῷ, καὶ πώγωνα καθειμένου γενναῖον," *well adorning the hair, after the ancient manner, and sending down a noble beard.* It is added, as a saying of Lycurgus, *that hair made the good still more becoming; the vicious, more frightful.* "ἡ κόμη τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς, εὐπρεπεστέρους ὁρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς, φοβερωτέρους." Theodoret (Serm. I. de Providentia, p. 321. Tom. IV.) speaks thus of the *beard* and *hair* of the Philosophers, together with the white robe, (τριβών.) "Η δὲ ἐν τρίβωνι λευκῷ, καὶ πώγωνι μακρῷ, καὶ κόμῃ κεφαλῆς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁριζομένη." κ.τ.λ. Hence we see too, that the τριβὼν was white. It was probably woollen, and the same as that worn by the *Soofee* Philosophers of the East; and so called because made of wool (صوف *soof.*) It should seem from a passage in Diog. Laërt. that it was the moral Philosophers only, who wore their hair long and flowing. In vita Carnead...ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἠθικοῖς μᾶλλον, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκόμα καὶ ἔτρεφεν ὄνυχας. ..."ethicæ se magis devovit. Quocirca et cæsariem, et ungues nutriebat."

[1] Lactantius (Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 105.) has some admirable remarks on this subject; as, "Falsum vero intelligere, est quidem sapientiæ, sed humanæ: ultra hunc gradum procedi ab homine non potest, nisi doceatur a Deo...nota Ciceronis vox est: *utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa convincere.*"

[2] So Plutarch, who was probably copied here: (de defect. Orac. p. mihi 413. Tom. II.)...καταπιμπλάμενον αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀθέων ἐρωτημάτων, ἃ τῷ θεῷ προβάλλουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφιστοῦ διάπειραν λαμβάνοντες, οἱ δὲ περὶ θεσαυρῶν ἢ κληρονομιῶν, ἢ γάμων παρανόμων

that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased crowns! And, Had they any truth—teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one! On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God: and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons: but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should be willing to point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings,—through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons,—that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

53. And[3] again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through

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διερωτῶντες." "Oppletum obscenis et impiis quæstionibus, quas deo proponunt: alii eum tanquam sophistam tentantes; alii de thesauris, hæreditatibus, incestisve nuptiis sententiam scitantes."

[3] Here again we have the Greek text, as preserved in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 533. C.

the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children[1], and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them[2]?

54. For, the Phœnicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn[3]! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)[4]! This same custom too

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[1] This clause is wanting in the Greek.

[2] See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 27. seq. Edit. 1629. This argument is urged, Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 4. and the Gr. text found as cited above.

[3] This appears to be taken from Philo Byblius (Sanchoniathon,) as preserved in the Prep. Evang. cap. x. p. 40. and Lib. IV. cap. xvi. p. 156, in these words: "Εθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων, ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς, τὸ ἠγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδιδόναι λύτρον τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. κατεσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς. We are then told, that *Israel*, who reigned in Phœnicia, and was there only another name for *Saturn*, had so sacrificed his *son Jeud* (Ἰεούδ); which in the Phœnician language meant "*only son*," (μονογενοῦς). This is apparently told as being the origin of their custom. We may observe however, that the name *Israel* is evidently taken from the Hebrew Bible, as is the name *Jeud* (Judah); for Israel certainly had such son. There is a blunder however, in the application; for, it was *Abraham* who laid his son on the altar for sacrifice; and that son's name was *Isaac*, not *Jeud*. There is, moreover, another blunder here, for Jahid (יחיד, Syr. ܝܚܺܝܕ) must have signified only one; or μονογενής, in the Phœnician.

[4] This is found in the Gr. as above cited, but defectively, and has been taken from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. p. 155. B. where it stands thus: "Ἐθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ μηνὶ μεταγειτνιῶνι, ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου ἄνθρωπος τῷ κρόνῳ. ὃ δὴ ἐπιπολὺ κρατήσαν ἔθος μετεβλήθη· ἕνα γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθέντων, μέχρι τῶν κρονίων συνεῖχον· ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, προαγαγόντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔξω πυλῶν. ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλης ἔδους, οἴνου ποτίσαντες ἔσφαττον." Part of this is also found in Cyrill. Alexandr. against Julian. p. 128. seq. Edit. Spanh. It will be observed, that the Syriac translator has taken ἔδος in the sense of *image*, and Ἀριστοβούλη as a proper name, i.e. *Diana*.

greatly obtained, and was thus changed: They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

55. In the (place) also which is now called Salamis[5], but formerly Coronéa, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisius[6], to Argaula[7] the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis[8]! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly—when his equals in age[9] had led him three times round the altar, —stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus[10],—who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian[11],—abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull.

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[5] Syr. ܣܠܡܝܣ, imitating the form of the Greek case in Σαλαμῖνι. It is worth remarking here, that Porphyry,—from whom this passage is taken (Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. pp. 155, 162.)—says, this place was formerly named *Coronea*, Κορώνεια: which appears to me, generally to have escaped the Geographers. This was the Salamis of Cyprus, as the context shews.

[6] Our March.

[7] Syr. ܐܪܓܘܠܐ. *Argaula.* It is usual with the Syrians thus to vary foreign words, as noted above. See Par. 30, note.

[8] Syr. ܐܪܓܘܠܝܣ, as before, and in imitation of the Greek case, Ἀγραυλίδος. Here the Translator has taken the term Νύμφη, in the theological sense of *daughter-in-law*, Syr. ܟܠܬܐ. In which, I think, he is wrong. See also Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. I. cap. xl.

[9] Syr. ܒܢܝ ܩܐܡܬܗ, lit. *the children of his stature:* i. e. of similar age. This seems to me to be a hypercritical imitation of the Greek ἐφήβων, of Porphyry.

[10] Syr. ܕܝܦܠܘܣ, *Diphlius:* which is, no doubt, the error of some Scribe.

[11] Syr. ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܣܝܠܘܩܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܣܝܠܘܩܘܣ. *The Seleucus*

56. The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice[1].

57. Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them[2].

58. They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian[3] Bacchus in Chios[4], when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos[5], as Euelpis the Carystian[6] affirms!

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leucus who spoke of God: a periphrasis for the Greek θεολόγος. He was, as Viger thinks, (notes ib.) a Grammarian of Alexandria, who wrote commentaries on most of the Poets, &c. and a hundred books on the Gods; and, that on this last account he was termed the *Theologian.* See also Suidas sub voce. This place is also cited by Cyrill of Alexandria, Edit. Spanh. p. 128, with considerable varieties of reading from that of Eusebius, for κορωνεία. κορωνίδι: for 'Αγραυλίος, 'Αγραυλίδως: ib. for χρόνων, καιρῶν: ib. for ἄνθρωπον, ἄνδρα: ib. νηθεῖσαν πυρὰν, ἀφθεῖσαν πυράν." The Syr. Translator agrees with the first, giving ܐܓܪܘܠܝ. And, on the whole, the readings of the Prep. Evang. are much the best. In the Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 533. D. the text is defective.

[1] This is an exact translation of the passage preserved in Eusebius (Prep. Evang. ib.), so much so, that the very order, ellipses, &c. of the Greek are followed. Gr. Μάνεθως. Syr. ܡܢܬܘ. Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Syr. ܒܥܝܪ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܨܪ.—This Amosis was, according to some, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. x. pp. 490, 493, &c.

[2] This too is found in Porphyry, the Prep. Evang. ib. and Viger's notes, ib. p. 11. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.

[3] Syr. ܐܘܡܕܝ ܕܐܓܪܐ. for ܐܓܪܐ, or ܐܓܪܘܠ, &c. The Greek (Prep. Evang. ib.) having, τῷ ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ. *Omadius* here, according to the lexicographers, is, i.q. ὠμηστής. *crude-devouring,* and is a title of Bacchus. Plutarch moreover, uses this word (Themistocles, p. mihi 118.) when he tells us, that Themistocles *offered up three captives, at the suggestion of Euphrantides the Prophet, to his Deity:* i.e. ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ.

[4] Syr. ܟܘܒܪ. [5] Syr. ܕܢܕܘܣ.

[6] Syr. ܐܠܦܣ ܕܟܪܘܣܛܝ. Gr. Εὔελπις ὁ Καρύστιος. See also the note of Viger, ib. p. 11. In Cyrill. Alexan. against Julian

59. The Lacedemonians[7] also, as Apollodorus[8] affirms, sacrificed a man to Mars[9]! The Phœnicians too, in their greater calamities, whether wars, pestilences, or famines, sacrificed one of their friends, who was selected (for this purpose), to Saturn. The history too of the Phœnicians[10] —composed by Sanchoniatho[11] in the language of the Phœnicians, and (which) Philo[12] Biblius translated into the Greek, in Eight Books,—is full of this, (viz.) as to those who were (so) sacrificed.

60. Ister[13] also says, in (the) collection[14] of select sacrifices, that the Curetes[15] formerly sacrificed boys[16]! And Pallas[17], who collected abundantly[18] on the mysteries of

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(p. mihi 129.) this passage also occurs, but there the term ὡμαδίῳ does not appear. In all other respects the quotation is identical. It is defective in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.

[7] Syr. ܟܪܝܛܝܣ. [8] Syr. ܐܦܘܠܘܕܘܪܘܣ.

[9] Syr. ܐܪܝܣ. Gr. Ἄρει. See Viger's note.

[10] From the Prep. Evang. ib. p. 156. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 11. but defective. Cyrill. Alexand. (p. mihi 129.) also has the place.

[11] Syr. ܣܢܟܘܢܝܬܘܢ, in two words (for ܣܢܟܘܢܝܬܘܢ, perhaps). The latter of which appears, in the MS., to have been first written ܣܢ, and afterwards corrected. It is not improbable that, as the ܢ *nun* is scarcely audible in the Syriac, it might here have been omitted, as it often happens in proper names.

[12] Syr. ܦܝܠܘ...ܒܝܒܠܘܣ.

[13] Syr. ܐܝܣܛܪܘܣ. Gr. Ἴστρος. A disciple and interpreter of Callimachus, and an author of many works both in verse and prose. See Viger's note (p. 11.).

[14] The passage appears to me ambiguous in the Syriac. I have therefore, translated it accordingly. The original Greek however, evidently means a book so entitled: e.g. ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν κρητικῶν θυσιῶν. It should be observed too, that the term "select" (Syr. ܒܚܝܪ) standing in the place of the Gr. κρητικῶν, must be an error from some copyist.

[15] Syr. ܩܘܪܝܛܐ. Gr. Κουρῆτας.

[16] The Greek has, τῷ Κρόνῳ. It is probable I think, that these Curetes were originally derived from Palestine, and from the Philistines. See Bochart's Canaan. Lib. I. cap. xiv. Universal Hist. Vol. VIII. B. II. c. i. p. 219. Edit. 1747.

[17] Syr. ܦܠܐܣ.

[18] Syr. ܐܣܛܘܪܓ̈, apparently for the Greek ἄριστα.

Mithra[1], affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperour[2].

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva[3], in Laodicea[4] of Syria; but now a hart is.

62. The Carthaginians[5] also, who were of Libya[6], made the same sacrifice; which Iphicrates[7] caused to cease. The Dumatians[8] too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol!

63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed men, before they went out to battle[9]!

64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians[10]; and also the Athenians[11], who put to death the daughter of

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[1] Syr. ܡܣܬܪܝܐ. See a very curious note on these mysteries. Origen contra Cels. p. 8. line 44. Spencer's notes, p. 11.

[2] Syr. ܕܒܛܠ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܡ. It is worthy of remark, that the Oracles became silent, and also that the Miracles of the Christian Church ceased about this time.—Wanting in Orat. de laudd. Constant.

[3] Syr. ܐܬܝܢܐ. Gr. Ἀθηνᾶ. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 534. A.

[4] This is a continuation of the same place, from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. ib. Syr. ܠܐܘܕܝܩܝܐ. Gr. Λαοδικείᾳ.

[5] Syr. ܩܪܟܝܕܘܢܝܐ. Gr. Καρχηδόνιοι.

[6] Syr. ܠܝܒܝܐ. Gr. Λιβύῃ.

[7] Syr. ܐܝܦܩܪܛܝܣ. Gr. Ἰφικράτης. It is not very certain who this was: some attribute this to Gelo, a prince of Syracuse. See Viger's notes, ib. p. 12.

[8] Syr. ܕܘܡܐ ܕܓܘܠܕܐ. Gr. Δουμάτιοι. See Viger's notes. Perhaps the Arabian *Doumat 'l Jandal*, Arab. دومة الجندل. The latter word is, probably a modern adjunct, given by way of distinction. This place (See Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 95. Ed. White) was famous for the worship of an idol named *Wudd* (ود), our *Woden*, or the Indian *Bhuddha*. The sacrifice of the *Boy* was an imitation, no doubt, of that of Isaac, as were evidently the human sacrifices of Phœnicia, noticed above. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 534. A. but defectively.

[9] This is also continued from the same place, (Prep. Evang. p. 156.) Syr. ܕܡܠܟ ܩܕܡ. Gr. φίλαρχος. Orat. de laudd. ib. the name omitted.

[10] Syr. ܠܘܩܝܣ ܘܣܟܘܬܝܣ. Gr. Θρᾷκας καὶ Σκύθας.

[11] Syr. ܐܬܝܢܝ. Gr. Ἀθηναῖοι.

Erectheus and Praxithia[12]. But, Whom has it escaped, that even to this time, a man is sacrificed in the *Great City*[13] (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter[14] in Arcadia, nor to Saturn in Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men; but, through the remembrance of the law, they shed their own blood[15] upon the altars every year[16]! The most select Philosophers also attest, that things were thus: for Diodorus[17] who abridged the Bibliotheca has affirmed, that the Libyans[18] publicly sacrificed two hundred of the sons of the nobles to Saturn! Nor did they add to the sacrifices, fewer than three hundred others[19]! He

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[12] Syr. ܐܪܟܬܝܘܣ ܘܦܪܐܟܣܝܬܝ. Gr. Ερεκθέως καὶ Πραξιθέας. According to tradition, Erectheus had two sons and two daughters, all of whom were sacrificed for the good of the State. De laudd. ib., but in some respects differently.

[13] Syr. ܒܡܓܠܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ. Gr. κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν. Written variously, ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, or Μεγαλόπολις. It was a city of Arcadia, formed out of many inconsiderable neighbouring places, soon after the battle of Leuctra, under the auspices of Epaminondas. See Cellarius Geog. Antiq. sub voce.—Orat. de laudd. ib., omits much here.

[14] Syr. ܠܠܘܩܝܐ, erroneously, no doubt, for either ܠܠܘܩܝܣ, ܠܠܘܩܐܝܣ, or ܠܠܘܩܠܝܣ, the Greek being τοῖς λυκαίοις. And λυκαῖος was a title of the Arcadian Jupiter. The feast of Jupiter must therefore, I think, be meant, and not the lupercalia of Rome, which the translations given of the Greek seem to intimate.

[15] Syr. ܕܡܐ ܕܢܦܫܬܐ. Gr. ἐμφύλιον αἰεὶ αἷμα ῥαίνουσι. The difference is scarcely worth noticing.

[16] The citation from Porphyry ends here. The words immediately following are those of Eusebius.

[17] Syr. ܕܝܘܕܘܪܘܣ. Gr. ὁ Διόδωρος. This passage is also given in the Prep. Evang. but much more at length, (pp. 158—161.) and is taken from the Bibliotheca of Diodorus Siculus (Lib. xx. cap. xiv.).

[18] Syr. ܩܪܬܝܢܝܐ, meaning Carthaginians.

[19] This passage is obscure in the Syriac: it stands thus, ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ. In Diodorus it stands thus: ..." διακοσίους μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παίδων προκρίναντες ἔθυσαν δημοσίᾳ· ἄλλοι δ' ἐν διαβολαῖς ὄντες, ἑκουσίως ἑαυτοὺς ἔδοσαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες τριακοσίων. My impression is, that ܕܒܪ ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ, ought to be substituted for ܕܒܪ ܡܢ. The place will

too, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines. These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves[1]! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of the

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will then read, They added to these not fewer than, &c., placing ܠܐ, before ܐܠܦ ܡܐܐ. Lactantius (De falsa religione Lib. I. cap. xxi.) refers to this in these words: "Pescennius Festus in Libris historiarum per satiram refert, Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare, et cum victi essent ab Agathocle rege Siculorum: iratum sibi deum putavisse; itaque, ut diligentius piaculum solverent, ducentos nobilium filios immolasse." He gives some other instances too, which may be added to the above: viz. "Apud Cyprios (See Sect. 55, above) humanam hostiam Jovi Teucrus immolavit: idque sacrificium posteris tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum." Ib. cap. xx.—"Erat lex apud Tauros...ut Dianæ hospites immolarentur: et id sacrificium multis temporibus celebratum est." (See Sect. 53, 54, above). Ib.—"Ne Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, siquidem Latialis Juppiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano."—"Non minoris insaniæ judicanda sunt publica illa sacra, quorum alia sunt matris deûm, in quibus homines suis ipsi virilibus litant;...alia Virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant, in quibus ipsi sacerdotes, non alieno, sed suo cruore sacrificant," &c. which is probably the case noticed above (Note 15.) by Eusebius, and is identical with that of the priests of Baal, mentioned in 1 Kings xviii. 28. To this horrid list of vices, Theophilus ad Autolycum, (Lib. III. p. 143. seq.) adds several others too disgusting to be mentioned, and yet many of them recommended by some of the most famous Philosophers! See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad gentes. p. 22. seq. which is cited here in the Prep. Evang. p. 157. Similar practices prevailed among the Druids of Gaul and Great Britain as Cæsar intimates, as also among the Nomades of Tartary.

[1] The account of this is cited at length in the Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. p. 158. seq. as taken from Lib. I. of the work of Hallicarnassensis: it occurs also Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 534. B. with certain variations. This circumstance is said to have happened to the Pelasgi in Italy, and to have been the cause of their migrating into distant countries. We are told, ib. p. 159. B. that Myrsilus the Lesbian relates much the same things as having happened to the Tyrrhenians. The author tells us moreover, that these offerings were made to Jupiter,

men, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country's ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place: nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely; but, they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Barbarians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons,—

Apollo, and the Cabiri: "τῷ Διΐ, καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς καβείροις:" and, that this decimation of men (young men, it should seem) was called for by the Oracle, and enforced by the magistrates, —notwithstanding the migrations which hence took place,—until Hercules put an end to it, by commanding that images of men, dressed up as for the sacrifice, should be annually thrown into the Tibur. (Edit. Steph. 1546. p. 16.) It should seem, from accounts now before the public, that human sacrifices still prevail in the East to some extent. In the district of Ganjam in Hindustan, a tribe of natives called *Khoonds* annually sacrifice a human victim, in order to secure good crops. The Chieftains, it is said, of the different districts, take it by turns to offer this sacrifice annually: at other times, the offering is made to avert, or remove, some evil. These Chieftains then, have a child, sometimes children, purchased, or taken, in their marauding expeditions in the low country, to bring up for this express purpose: the more full grown and perfect, the better. This victim is put to death by the blow of an axe: the blood is sprinkled on the Idol, which is the image of a Peacock,—carved in wood,—with three heads. The body is then divided into as many parts as there are districts, and again into as many small pieces as there are families, who bury each his portion either in his house, or about his fields. It is stated in a Paper in "the Journal of the Asiatic Society," No. xiii. p. 136, that "this horrid custom ...is in a fair way of being entirely rooted out by the vigorous measures of Lord Elphinstone." The writer of the same paper, tells us of mounds in Southern India, which he thinks are composed of the ashes of sacrificial victims. His words are (ib. p. 135.)—"I must admit, though reluctantly, the possibility of some of them being the remains of great sacrifical holocausts performed by the Rishis of old in their solitudes, since the ancient annals of the country abound in allusions both to bestial and human sacrifices...on a fearful scale of magnitude." He alludes (ib.) to the Druidical sacrifices made formerly in our own land.

were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men,—that so far,—and farther,—was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours[1]: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius[2],—in whose days our Saviour appeared,—there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Toparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

66. The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty[3] in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and

[1] As indeed the marauding tribes of Turcomans, Tartars, Bedouins, and others in the East still do.—Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. D. but with certain discrepancies.

[2] This is said also in the Preparatio Evangelica, (Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 10. D.) and is there advanced with reference to the Roman Empire being consolidated under Augustus, and thence enjoying—under one comprehensive government—a peace, unknown to it before. So also here, Book III. Sect. 1. seq. and Book V. Sect. 52.

[3] The Kings enumerated in Joshua xii. 24. are in the Heb. Bible *thirty-one*, in the Sept. Greek twenty-nine, in number. Our author thought it sufficient, perhaps, to give the round number thirty.

kings: those (I say), who resided apart in Gaza, Ashkelon, Joppa, and Azotus, again rebelled among themselves. Scythopolis[4] too, and the cities about it, were accordingly so governed, that hence it happened, that their study was in contention and wars with their neighbours. And also, when in Jerusalem the wonderful Temple was built, (and) which Solomon erected, What necessity can there be for saying, how many subsequent wars (happened) and dealt vengeance even on the Jews, on account of their dissimulation in the worship of their God; and on which account, they became divided from each other? They also arose against themselves, and availed themselves of (the aid of) various Kings and enemies; some of whom took the metropolis formerly called Samaria, but now Sabastia[5]; others again, resided in Jerusalem, and were always engaged in wars with their own people, and these with them[6].

67. Not unlike these too, did those suffer who resided in Arabia: for, among these also, there was a multitude of local Princes[7]. The same also was the case with the Syrians, who were in subjection to their (many) kings. The Phœnicians again, so guarded their territories, that no one could mix himself with them, or pass through them: while they were continually desolating the lands of those who resided on their borders, and were constantly engaged in the reduction of cities, and in making captives of one another. Nor was it this only, but also the

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[4] Syr. ܒܝܬ ܫܐܢ. Gr. Σκυθόπολις or Σκυθῶν πόλις. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Tom. II. Lib. III. cap. xiii. p. 316. The Bethshan of the Old Testament. Jud. i. 27, &c. situated not far from the Lake of Gennesaret.

[5] Syr. ܣܒܣܛܝܐ. Gr. Σεβαστή. So named by Herod in honour of Augustus. See Cellarius. Geog. Antiq. p. mihi 112. with the authorities there cited.

[6] This paragraph was probably in the mind of Theodoret, when he wrote the passage, (Serm. x. de Oraculis, p. 633. Tom. IV.) commencing at line 10 from the bottom. Our author here refers to the wars of the Canaanites with one another, and with the Jews, as related generally by Josephus.—This place is not without its obscurity.

[7] See Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. D. Syr. ܪܫܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ. lit. *Heads of places.*

whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons! Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods[1] began and obtained dominion,—like some evil and destructive disease of soul,—over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

68. If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them?—of the war (for

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[1] This seems to assign the origin of Idolatry to Egypt: the plains of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2. seq. comp. Rev. xvii. 5.) seem to me to lay a better claim to this. Egypt may, indeed, have adorned it much with its science: but so did Babylon. (See Is. xlvii. 12, 13. it. ib. xiv. 12—14. with the Commentators on these places.) Greece perhaps got much of its Idolatry from Egypt, while the East was more particularly supplied with this from Babylon. See also Vossius de Idololatria, passim.

example) of the Peloponnesians[2] and Athenians[3], of which Thucydides[4] is the writer?—how Greeks warred with Greeks?—how they subdued the Potidæans[5]?—how they trampled on the Thebans[6] and Platæans[7]?—how the Thracians[8] and Macedonians[9] at one time assisted the Athenians, and at another became their enemies?—how the Athenians reduced Corinth[10], and desolated the country of the Epirotæ[11] and Træzenii[12]?—how they wasted the Lacedemonians; and these again, suffered in like manner from the Lacedemonians when they invaded Attica[13], and depopulated the country of the Athenians? At another time, the Olynthians[14] made war on the Athenians; and these again, on others: and these, on their neighbours! Every species of warfare moreover, abounded among them: fights in ships (by sea), fights by land, and fights with cavalry! All these innumerable things did the Gods,—as one may affirm,—fully bring to pass at that time among the Greeks! Nor was it (this) only, but they were also conversant among men; they were honoured, and they were served: not as is now the case; but,—as (all) affirm,—as their fathers worshipped those ancient (Deities), and gave themselves up to them, so as to be their friends and to converse with them, as being Gods (present) with them, and residing with them on the earth. And in many things, both by divinations and revelations, did these assist them. Nevertheless, the fruits of honouring these Gods were these; wars, contentions, desolations, and captivities!

69. But, if you wish to investigate things more ancient than these, contemplate with your mind him who was in

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[2] Syr. ܣܦܪܛܝ̈ܐ. [3] ܐܬܝܢܝ̈ܐ. [4] ܬܘܩܘܕܝܕܝܣ.

[5] ܦܘܛܝܕܐ, for ܦܘܬܝܕܐ, the ܕ changed into ܛ, as noticed par. 30, above.

[6] ܬܝܒܝ̈ܐ, [7] ܦܠܛܝ̈ܐ. [8] ܛܪܩܝ̈ܐ. [9] ܡܩܕܘܢܝ̈ܐ.

[10] ܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ. [11] ܐܦܝܪܘܣ for ܐܦܘܪܘܣ, where the ܘ is changed for ܝ.

[12] ܛܪܘܙܝ̈ܢ. [13] ܐܛܬܝܩܐ.

[14] ܐܘܠܘܢܬܝ̈ܐ. The places of Thucydides here referred to, will be readily found by consulting the Indexes of the best Editions of that writer.

Delphos, and held his seat (there) in the presence of the Greeks. I speak of the Pythian; of him who was preached to all the Greeks, and who proclaimed to the Lydian (Crœsus),—but was infirm when he did so,—[1]"*I know the number of the sand, and the measure of the sea: the deaf I understand, and the dumb I hear.*" He therefore, sent to this same (as) a reward for this song, the bricks of gold of two talents (weight), the phials of gold, and bowls in like manner[2]. Nevertheless, Crœsus was, with this his declaration, all infirmity: nor did this Deity in any way help those descendants of his house, so that they might live happily and soberly. On the contrary, Pisistratus[3] became embittered against the Athenians, while this Pythian[4] was seer among the Greeks, and the rest of the Gods had dominion over them, and were even partakers in (their) wars! The people of Argus[5] accordingly, fought against the Corinthians[6]; the Lacedemonians, against the Trœzenians[7]; the Locrians[8] again, waged war with the other Greeks, and the Corcyreans[9] with others. Messena[10] too, was taken four times by the Lacedemonians; and the Arcadians[11] were reduced! The walls of the Orchomenians[12] were also

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[1] This is taken from Herodotus, Lib. I. c. XLVII. who gives it thus:

"Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
"Καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω."

To which three other lines are added. See the notes in the best editions here. The passage is alluded to, and commented upon, by Œnomaus in the Prep. Evang. Lib. V. cap. XX. p. 210. seq. It is cited ib. p. 230. B. with a few variations, (see Viger's notes in each place,) as it also is in Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 63.

[2] The particulars here referred to, will be found in Herodotus, l. c. et seq. On these Oracles, generally, see the Index to the Prep. Evang. (sub voce "*Oracula*," Viger's Edit.) Theodoret, Serm. IX. Græc. affect. curatio, &c.

[3] Herodot. Lib. I. LIX. LXIV. Syr. ܐܬܝܢܝܣ.

[4] ܐܬܝܢܝܣ. [5] ܐܪܓܘܣ. [6] ܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ.

[7] ܛܪܘܙܝܢ. [8] ܠܘܩܪܝ. [9] ܟܘܪܩܝܪܐ.

[10] ܡܣܝܢܐ. [11] ܐܪܟܐܕܝܐ.

[12] Syr. ܐܘܪܟܘܡܝܢܘܣ. The *Orchomenians*. But I can find no account of this in the histories. An argument not unlike this is urged at length by Cicero (de Nat. Deor. III. 32—33. seq.), where Pisistratus is also adduced as an instance either of weakness or wickedness in the Gods.

rased to the foundations, and the Athenians overcame the people of Ægina[13]: and again, the Megarians[14], the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, the Athenians; the Athenians, the Bœotians[15]; and the Locrians, the people of Phocis[16]! These things therefore, (did) all the Greeks to the Greeks; the Gods nevertheless, sitting at the side of Jupiter while all these came to pass! The Clarion[17] Pythius; that of Dodona[18], which was in Epirus[19], did—since they were Demons filled with fumes,—very gladly receive the sacrifices which were of Demons, both the sacrificial bestial hecatombs[20] of bulls, and those human sacrifices, which were of their own friends! And, while they were inflamed with this vile delirium and love of war, and were (even) rabid against one another[21]; these Grecian Gods,—behold! when with them; these friends, (I say) and provident beings, these lovers and guardians of the Greeks,—restrained them not! But, if we must speak truly, these were the friends of war; these the haters of mankind; these the contenders with God! For, they were the cause of all these things, because they delighted in the slaughter of mankind. And when they had it not in their power to delight in war, they forthwith did so in human sacrifices, and in the libations of human blood, with which they glutted themselves in every city!

70. One of two things is, therefore (the case): Either, they were nothing; and it was grievous error that had then so taken hold of mankind, as to induce them to honour inanimate images as Gods, and vainly, emptily, and by a sort of madness, to sacrifice their own friends

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[13] Syr. ܐܝܓܝܢܝܛܐ. [14] ܡܓܪܝܐ. [15] ܒܝܘܛܝܐ. [16] ܦܘܩܝܣ.
[17] ܩܠܪܝܐ. [18] ܕܘܕܘܢܝ.

[19] This name is greatly deformed in the Syriac, where we have it thus: ܐܦܝܛܘܣ for, ܐܦܝܪܘܣ, *in Epirus:* for it was in Epirus that this Oracle stood.

[20] Syr. by a periphrasis, ܕܒܚܐ ܕܒܚܝ ܡܐܐ, lit. *These sacrifices of a hundred bulls.*

[21] Reasoning similar to this will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. xxvi. p. 220. seq. And, generally, this question is fully considered, ib. Lib. iv. cap. i. seq.

(to them): or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, "*from its fruits is the tree known*[1]."

71. It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions—not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another;—were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did they give, worthy of this worship, to those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort?—and thence, laws that were efficient, and preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governours. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks:—the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house:—and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rasing of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things:—What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils: or, they possessed some

[1] Matt. xii. 33. The reading here, as elsewhere, differs slightly from the Peschito.

power, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the *Princes of evil.* But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they were again, the betrayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious.

72. For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention?—either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming?—when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace?

73. How then;—for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned):—did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

74. But, if they advance a superintending fate[2], such

[2] On this subject, generally, see the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. Procem. p. 236. seq. and cap. vii. Theodoret, Græc. affect. curat. Serm. vi. p. 562.

Clemens

as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain; and a doctrine false[1] and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing but that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing.

75. But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

76. But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut off: every city, region, and locality, among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lybia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far,—and still farther by the northern blast,—contributed to her immersion; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the One Ship-governour of all things. Such are all things now,

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Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. iv. p. 495. C. Lactant. Lib. iii. cap. xxix. Our author against Hierocles, p. 541. Edit. 1628. Plutarch, Libellus de Fortuna, and Ephrem Syrus, Tom. ii. Syr. et Lat. p. 451. seq. where our term ܡܠܦܢܐ, is applied again and again.

[1] Syr. ܫܘܝ, for ܫܘ, beyond all doubt.

since he that was in Delphos has been desolated; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withholden from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, THE WORD OF GOD, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing: every war-making necessity too has been removed far away: the Divine peace-making WORD is hymned throughout the whole earth: the race of man is reconciled to God its Father; and peace and love have been restored to all nations! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done; —nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth,—(now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence[2]: every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting them-

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[2] According to Plutarch,—who lived in the times of Trajan, and wrote a very valuable work on the failing of the Oracles (De defectu Oraculorum),—excepting Lebadia in Bœotia alone, the Oracles had every where become silent, and their fanes ruined. His words are: (Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. p. 205.)... "οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι νῦν, ἢ περὶ Λεβάδειαν ἡ Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀρύσασθαι μαντικῆς· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν σιγῇ, τὰ δὲ παντελῆς ἐρημία κατέσχεν." This is followed (ib.) by an account from the same author, of the general decay of demoniacal influence, which, according to him, commenced in the times of Tiberius Cæsar:—the very time,—as Eusebius proceeds to remark—when our Lord cast them out, and declared that he saw Satan fall from heaven like lightning. He tells us too, (ib. p. 164. D.) that human sacrifices, which had every where prevailed, entirely ceased in the times of Hadrian—when the Christian religion had become generally known—as noticed above.

selves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

77. But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridæus[1], the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria; Seleucus became Governor of Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonus, of Asia; Casander, of Caria; Leonatus, of the Hellespont; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdiccas also, entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

78. Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With

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[1] Syr. ܐܪܝܕܝܐ, for ܐܪܪܝܕܝܐ. This is, no doubt, the Arridæus, Ἀρρίδαῖος of Diodorus Siculus: who, as he says, was the son of Philip, now received the name of Philip, and was made king. His words are:... εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλέα κατέστησαν τὸν φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀρρίδαῖον, καὶ μετωνόμασαν φίλιππον. (Bibl. Tom. VIII. II.) The authors, therefore, of the Universal History are wrong when they say, that this man was the Son of Roxana, and named Alexander.

many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

79. Those[2] too who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretel, their own destruction[3]: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretel that manifestation of our Saviour[4], which (has taken place) among men; nor yet, the

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[2] To the same effect, the Oratio de laudd. Constant. cap. ix. p. 517. C. seq.

[3] Eusebius does, nevertheless, give a passage from Porphyry, (Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. p. 204.; see also p. 238.) in which Apollo is made to speak of their failing. The context, however, in this case is sufficient to shew, that this revelation was not put forth until the thing foretold had come to pass. This is followed (ib.) by a quotation, noticed above (par. 76.), from Plutarch, on the general failing of the Oracles. See Viger's notes on both.

[4] Yet it is certain that very many intimations of "the coming of the Just One" had got abroad among the heathen; and, of this, the Preparatio Evangelica of Eusebius presents many striking examples. Libb. IX. X. &c. see also the Oratio Constantini ad Sanctor. cæt. cap. xviii. seq. These however, did not originate with the Oracles.—All this was indeed, foretold by Isaiah (chap. xvii. 7. &c.) according to Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 395, and fulfilled in the times of Constantine. See ib. p. 412. seq. where he more than intimates that ALL had been fulfilled, just as our author has done in many places.

new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

80. What Diviner[1] then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god[2], Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a *new thing*[3] in the life of man, and (is) the "*knowledge*[4] *of God*" who is above and over all, and whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who,—supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man;—that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of contempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstanced who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace[5]? But, the

[1] De laudd. Constant. ib. p. 517. D. seq.

[2] Syr. ܐܠܗܐ, Gr. *ἡμίθεος*.

[3] This is, perhaps, an allusion to Jer. xxxi. 22, where the Syriac Peschito text has, The Lord createth *a new thing in the earth*, ܒܪܝܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ. Our Syriac has, ܒܪܝܬ ܚܕܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܠܡ.

[4] Alluding, perhaps, to 2 Cor. iv. 6.: or, it may be, to the term *Wisdom of God*, 1 Cor. i. 24., so frequently given to Christ in this work.

[5] Cicero adduces the tyrant of Sicily, when he had robbed the fane of Proserpine at Locris, and was sailing homeward with a prosperous gale, saying these words: "Videtisne, amici, quam bona a Diis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis datur?" A similar thing is said of Gelo, and the Olympian Jupiter (ib. Nat. Deor. III. 34.), and also of Æsculapius, &c.

wonder of the matter is this, that, when their Temples were subjected to destruction, a peace, administering increase to every excellency and good, had taken firm hold on the life of men: every thing happening to the contrary, when the Gods were in peace! For, during their prosperity, wars, conflicts, commotions, and the reducing of cities,—as shewn in history, and as we have already said,—(prevailed) among men: but, in their desolation, an entire peace with every good thing without drawback[6]. Whence it must be evident to every one capable of reflection, that these were no Gods, as it also must, that they were not good Demons, but on the contrary, vicious ones. Those must also have been destroyers, whose prosperity was the cause of calamities to mankind, and whose ruin led the way to the bringing in of every good to all. But, how (all was) formerly in commotion among the Greeks, and how the nations throughout the whole earth were agitated, we now know, as to a few things:—

81. And hence we may perceive why appointments, the character of which was varying, subverted the lives of all. For the Egyptians had a law, allowing them to take their own sisters as wives[7]: the Persians, to hold shameful and sinful converse with their own mothers[8]: others, to

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Lactantius too,—a contemporary of our author,—makes some pithy remarks on this subject. Lib. II. cap. iv. p. mihi 108. seq. as also does Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 34.—If it be said that, neither does revealed religion put forth vindictive powers, on occasions of insult offered by unbelievers, the answer is this: Revealed religion did put forth miraculous powers vindicating its own authority, when it was necessary it should do so. To do so on every occasion, would answer no good end. Unrevealed religion never has, and never could, when it wanted it most, do this. This is the true distinction: and it is an adequate one.

[6] Syr. ܒܠܥ ܕܠܐ, lit. *absque invidia*. The phrase, however, is often used to imply, without drawback, freely, or the like: no one English expression or phrase exactly resembling it.

[7] Most of the statements made here, will also be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. iv. pp. 11, 48, 275—279, &c. See also Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 535. A. B. which will enable us to ascertain the intention of our author here, where he is occasionally obscure. This first is cited from Diodorus Siculus (Prep. Evang. p. 48. D.) in these words:... "νομοθετῆσαι δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους γαμεῖν ἀδελφάς."

[8] Ib. p. 11. it. 275. C. where we are told, that the Persian laws allowed

pollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock[1]: and of these, the extent was such, that ("the natural use of") the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity[2]. Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres[3]; and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious[4], and exposed their dead

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allowed marriage with sisters, daughters, and mothers, on the authority of Bardesanes. See p. 279. ib.

[1] As just cited from Bardesanes. And, in his days, many of these things were practised in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as carried thither by the Magi.

[2] See Viger's note (ib. p. 25. "παρὰ Πέρσας.") Bardesanes too, (ib. p. 276. D.) charges the Philosophers of Greece with this detestable crime)..."παρ' Ελλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρωμένους ἔχοντες, οὐ ψέγονται." (Ib. p. 277.) This is said to have been practised under the sanction of the laws in Gaul. That Socrates, the most virtuous of all the Philosophers, was addicted to this practice, many ancient authors of respectability may be adduced to shew: and Theodoret with others asserts, that it was recommended by Plato in his Republic. See Theod. Græc. affect. curat. Serm. IX. p. mihi 618. D. Tom. IV. Viger is certainly mistaken when he imagines that the *Zerasdas* of Theodoret, means Plato; it being self evident, as I think, that the Persian *Zerdusht*, (زردشت) or Gr. *Zoroaster*, must have been intended. Notes to the Prep. Evang. p. 25. seq. where it may be seen, that Autolycus accuses both the Epicureans and the Stoïcs of the same crime. Cæsarius imputes the same to the Chaldæans and Babylonians, (ib.) See also the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 472. seq. It may be doubted perhaps, whether some of these charges can be substantiated. See Luzacii de Theodoreto judicium, prefixed to Dr Gaisford's work.—These abominations are again touched upon, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. X. p. 161, and Origen contra Cels. Lib. V. p. 248. seq.

[3] These particulars seem to be resumed more specifically near the end of this section. Our text has ܒܡܩܒܪ̈ܐ here, for ܒܡܩܒ̈ܪܐ I presume. I have, therefore, translated it by *in sepulchres:* alluding, perhaps, to the sacrificing, and otherwise destroying, of children.

[4] So, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11. C.)..."κυσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς οἰκείους νεκροὺς προτιθέναι τοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο πράττοντας." (See also Plutarch, Tom. II. p. 499.) So also Bardesanes, who attributes this to the Medes, &c. (ib. p. 277.) "Οἱ Μῆδοι πάντες τοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς τρεφομένοις κυσὶ, τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντες παραβάλλουσι." Theodoret says,

(only) to the dogs and birds of prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests[5]! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh[6]! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they expired[7]! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks[8]! Others they gave up to strangulation[9]! Others[10] they threw

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on the same subject:..." *οὐκ ἔτι δ' οὔτε ὑρκανοὶ, οὔτε Κάσπιοι τοὺς κύνας τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐκτρέφουσι σώμασιν.*" (p. 615. see also p. 614.) See also Cicero. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I. cap. xlv.

[5] So Bardesanes. (Prep. Evang. p. 275. B.) "*φυλή τις Ινδῶν, οἵτινες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντες ξένους ἀγρεύοντες. καὶ τούτους θύοντες ἐσθίουσι.*" See also Viger's Note, (p. 25.) where much interesting matter, to this effect, is collected together. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 535. B.

[6] This is applied to the Scythians, generally, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) in these words:..." *μὴ δ' ἀνθρωποβορεῖν Σκύθας διὰ τὸν καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν ἐλθόντα τὸν χριστοῦ λόγον.*" Bardesanes affirms that there is also a people in India, who indulge in cannibalism, (ib. p. 278. D.) "*καὶ ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ τῶν Ινδῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρωπόφαγοι Ινδοί.*"

[7] This seems to be applied to the Derbices of Persia, (Prep. Evang. ib. p. 11.) and the Massagetæ..." *Μασσαγέται καὶ Δέρβικες ἀθλιωτάτους ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν οἰκείων τοὺς αὐτομάτως τελευτήσαντες, διὸ καὶ φθάσαντες κατέθυον, καὶ εἰστιῶντο τῶν φιλτάτων τοὺς παρακμάσαντας.*" This is repeated, in the main, by Theodoret. (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. IX. p. 615.)

[8] This, according to Euseb. (l. c.) and Theodoret, (l. c.) was done by the Tibareni. Theod. "*καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτας κατὰ κρημνῶν βαθυτάτων εἰθικότες ὠθεῖν.*"

[9] Mention is made of this (Prep. Evang. ib.) in these words, "*μηδ' ἀγχόνῃ τοὺς γεγηρακότας, ὥσπερ ἦ πρότερον, ἐπιβάλλειν.*" "Nec senio jam confectis, ut antea, laqueos injiciunt." Lit. Nor, as formerly, do they cast over the aged with a snare (noose, &c.) A practice, perhaps, not unlike that of the Persian hunters and warriors, who threw a sort of noose,—called the كمند, *Camand*,—over the head of the animal they wished to take. The Syriac term used here is, ܣܪܒܘܟܝܬܐ *sharbūkītho*, which seems to me to be a corruption of the Arabic شبيك, or شبكة, meaning *a net*. Bar Bahlul, I see, makes it i. q. ܚܢܩܐ ܕܟܪܟܬܐ, *strangulation of the neck*, and ܚܒܠ, *snare*: and the Arab. لوهة: so far, therefore, it is, i. q. the Gr. *ἀγχόνη*. I wonder therefore, that Castell should so very imperfectly have explained this word.

[10] So the Hyrcaneans and Bactrians (Prep. Evang. pp. 11, 12, and Theodoret as above.)

to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying[1]! Others they buried with these (alive[2])! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved[3]!

82. Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice!—For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth,—about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature. The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this,

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[1] So the Caspians (Prep. Evang. ib.) and Bactrians (ib. p. 12.) Strabo Geogr. Lib. xi. p. 356. Edit. Casaubon.

[2] This, according to Theodoret, (Græc. affect. curat. p. 615.) was done by the Sythians: "Σκύθαι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι συγκατορύττουσι ζῶντας οὓς ἠγάπων ἐκεῖνοι." So Ibn Batuta tells us (Travels, p. 220,) that he saw, at the funeral of the Emperor of China, six favourite Mamlūks, and four female slaves all buried alive with him! See also Prep. Evang. (ib. p. 156. C.)

[3] So the Indians, as Bardesanes tells us, burned the wives, together with the dead body of the husband, on the funeral pile (Prep. Evang. p. 277. D.), just as it is the practice still in Hindustan. See also Plutarch, Tract. Εἰ αὐτάρκης κ. τ. λ. Tom. ii. p. mihi 499. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 254. seq. as given by Celsus himself.

that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one time, divided into parties; at another,—when they were brought together,—they contended against each other, by means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which they mutually laboured[4]. And, the length of the day would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our (mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid (for this), except by means of the glorious and divine manifestation (of Christ).

83. What, then, was it right that THE WORD[5], the Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian, the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things, do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so) fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend[6]? Would[7] it have been well, that (even) a man should pass over the safety of his friends, and unpityingly neglect them when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down, having by him that which (would secure) the safety of those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, unavenged, the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any good Shepherd, who unfeelingly neglects the (single) sheep

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[4] Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. C.

[5] Syr. ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܒܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ. Where it will be seen, as in other instances, that the notion of *reason*, contained in the Greek λόγος, is implied in the Syriac ܡܠܬܐ.

[6] Syr. ܕܢܚܙܝܘܗܝ ܘܢܕܥܘܗܝ, lit. *may see him, his recognizer, or familiar.*

[7] This argument will also be found Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xvii. p. 165. B. C. D., and again in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. vii. p. 514. C. D.

that has strayed from his flock; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts[1] (in its defence). The providential care, however, of THE WORD, the Saviour,—of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures,—was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed[2].

84. How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all,—which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world,—should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man? It had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted[3] with the things which are

[1] Alluding perhaps to the case of David. 1 Sam. xvii. 34—36.

[2] Not unlike this Porphyr. ad Boeth. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. C.

[3] Syr. ܐܬܡܠܦ, which, if it is not to be taken here in the sense of *Ethpahal*, which is certainly unusual,—ought perhaps to be written ܐܬܐܡܠܦ, in that form: for, it seems to me quite impossible here, to attach the usual sense of *Aphhel* to it. The place does not occur, un-

most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock[4].

85. It is likely therefore, that the compassionate Word of God would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God: by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mysteries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil[5].

86. Because then (men) had, by a perversion which

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fortunately, in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. where the preceding part of the argument does, cap. vii. p. 514. C. seq.: nor does it in the Prep. Evang.

[4] Syr. ܐܬܬܠܡ, an error of the Copyist, for ܐܬܡ.

[5] To the same effect Clemens. Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 702. D. seq.

was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same WORD OF GOD, would again,—as the Physician of souls,—by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts[1]. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences, famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves: and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many

[1] See our author's Eccl. Hist. Lib. IX. cap. viii.

Gods; and acknowledge that Lord of heaven and earth and of the whole universe, who is God (indeed): that Saviour, that Nourisher, that Preserver;—Him, who, (as) they may see with their own eyes, has openly shewn His providential care over them; at one time, in the supply of seasonable rains, of fruits borne of all (that springs) out of the earth, of wealth, and of comforts, unsparingly: at another, by the chastisements sent from God, and by the modes of discipline which were from Himself, has He brought back as with a bridle, those who were insensible of the good things, with which He had furnished them. Nor was it (this) only, but He also so cured the error of those who supposed these to be Gods, by a continuance of the lightnings and conflagrations which (came) upon them, that the Temples of the Gods were even burnt, together with those who had fabricated Gods for themselves, by ambushments of men: plainly exhibiting to those who could see, the rebuke which was due to the error of these. Nevertheless, when these worshippers of the Gods witnessed these early (occurrences), they entertained no greater a disposition towards the correction of their impiety!

87. And[2] again also, when they believed in these Gods, who had (virtually) confessed by their divinations, that they could effect nothing beyond what had been fated;—for Fate is the cause of all (in this acceptation);—they understood not, nor did they consider, that, as (this) Fate took hold both of themselves and of the Gods, vain must be (every) trust put in these, as they could neither help, nor injure mankind in any thing. And, Only so? —If it were right to honour Fate, as the cause of every thing; still this, as being a necessity impervious to change, could have no power even over itself! But, He has put forth the knowledge of Himself,—in order that (men) might know Him to be Lord of this (fate), and also of every (other) thing;—at one time, by the supply of every sort of good thing; at another, by chastising the error of a plurality of Gods in thunderings and in

[2] See Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. capp. i—iii. p. 236; where cap. iii. we have a poem from Porphyry on the conflagrations of the Temples. See also ib. Lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 134. D.

lightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos,—of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached[1] of formerly,—underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

88. The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three several times. On one occasion, the Amazons[2] burnt it; on another, Herododus[3] (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more

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[1] Syr. ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܦܘܬܝ ܕܐܦܣܛܠ ܕܡܢ, which I take to be much the same with the "ἐξ αἰῶνος βεβοημένον," of Eusebius, Prep. Evang. (p. 134. D.) This (Simson's Chron. p. 640) happened A. M. 3457; his words are, "A Pisistratidis incensum prodidit *Philochorus* apud Pindari Scholiastem ad Od. 7. Pyth. Non multo post ab Alcmæonidis instauratum."

[2] Syr. ܐܡܙܘܢܝܐ. It has been affirmed by some, (Simson. Chron. A. M. 2948,) that the Amazons first built this Temple; others deny this, and state that one Cresus, with Ephesus the son of Caÿster, built it: while Strabo makes Chersiphron its first builder. I have met with no account, however, of it having been destroyed by the Amazons.

[3] Syr. ܗܪܘܣܛܪܛܘܣ, Strabo, however, Lib. XIV. p. 440, tells us, that it was Herostratus, Ἡρόστρατος, who, to secure fame to himself, burnt it the second time. See also Valerius Maximus, Lib. VIII. cap. XIV. Extern. 5. This was the Temple in which the image that fell down from Jupiter (Acts xix. 35.) was said to be preserved: which image, according to Pliny, was made of ebony by one Canitia. (Lib. XIX. cap. IV.) So the authors of the Universal History, and, after them apparently Rees's Encyclopedia, Art. Diana. But, I can find no such thing in Pliny, nor any statuary of the name of Canitia. The words of Pliny are (Lib. XVI. 79), "De ipso simulacro Deæ ambigitur: ceteri ex ebeno esse tradunt. Mucianus ter consul, ex his qui proxime viso scripsere, vitigineum, et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo."

is visible even there, except the great (and) signal mark of the victory of (its) overthrow.

89. They have recorded moreover, that the Temple of Juno in Argus was destroyed on one occasion by fire[4]; as was also that in Abas[5], in like manner, when the Thebans made an incursion and burnt it, and with it five hundred men!

90. It is also said, that on one occasion, lightning struck the statue of Jupiter[6] in Olympia.

91. The Roman histories likewise inform us, that the Temple of Vesta[7] which is in Rome, and which is called

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[4] So Thucydides, Lib. IV. 133; not unlike this too, Pausanias Descript. Gr. Lib. VII. cap. v. This happened (Simson's Chronicon. p. 769.) A. M. 3582—which see.

[5] Syr. ܐܒܐ. This Temple was, according to Herodotus, very rich, and more ancient than that of Delphos, and was burnt by the Medes in conjunction with the Thessalians, Lib. VIII. 33. Eusebius, however, speaks of an invasion and burning by the Thebans (Syr. ܬܒܝ), which was, perhaps, on another occasion. See also Pausanias, Græc. Descript. Lib. X. cap. XXXV. This happened A. M. 3658. (Sims. Chron. p. 905.)

[6] This was, according to Strabo, (Lib. VIII. p. mihi 244.) one of the finest works of Phidias. It was made of ivory, in a sitting posture, and so large, that if standing the Temple could not have contained it, its height would have been so great. See also Pausanias, Lib. I. cap. XVIII. This Temple was once destroyed by an inundation of the sea. Pausan. Lib. III. cap. IX. I can find no account of the destruction of this statue by lightning. See Prep. Evang. p. 135. A.

[7] Syr. ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܪܘܡܝ. An account of this is found in Herodian, as happening in the times of Commodus, (Lib. I. 14.) He first tells us, that the Temple of Peace suffered by lightning after many prodigies had appeared in the heavens, with pestilences, &c. on the earth. His words are: "Μέγιστον δὲ δεινὸν καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἐλύπησε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον οἰωνίσματι καὶ φαύλῳ συμβόλῳ χρωμένους πάντας ἐτάραξεν. οὔτε γὰρ ὄμβρου προϋπάρξαντος, οὔτε νεφῶν ἀθροισθέντων, σεισμοῦ δὲ ὀλίγου προγενομένου γῆς, εἴτε σκηπτοῦ νύκτωρ κατενεχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ πυρός ποθὲν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαῤῥύεντος, πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ καλλίστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων, πλουσιώτατον δὲ ἦν πάντων ἱερῶν ...ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεὼ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πορὸς, γυμνωθὲν ὤφθη τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα (ὃ σέβουσί τε καὶ κρύπτουσι

the Pantheon[1],—(all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem,—was again, destroyed by lightning.

92. And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple[2].

τουσι Ῥωμαῖοι) κομισθέν ἀπὸ Τροιάς (ὡς λόγος)." "Maximum autem nefas cum in præsens dolorom attulit, tum in futurum pessimo augurio universos conterruit. Nam cum neque imbres ulli neque nubes, tantumque exiguus terræ motus antecessisset, seu nocturni casu fulminis, sive igni aliquo in ipso terrarum motu velut extrito, totum de improviso Pacis templum consumptum incendio est: quod unum scilicet opus cunctorum tota urbe maximum fuit atque pulcherrimum: idem templorum omnium opulentissimum... inter quæ etiam Vestæ templum, sic ut Palladium quoque conspiceretur: quod inprimis colunt atque in arcano habent Romani, Troja (ut perhibent) avectum." See also Xiphilinus near the end of Commodus. The Temple of Fortune at Rome is said, by Zosimus, to have been burnt in like manner. (Lib. II. Constantinus et Licinius.) The Temple of Vesta was also burnt in the first Punic wars. See Dion. Hallicarn. Lib. II. p. 94. Edit. 1546, where this Palladium is also spoken of. See also Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 30—35. seq. and Pausan. Lib. v.

[1] Syr. ܟܠ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ, i. e. *of every god*; which, I suppose, is an imitation of *Pantheon* (Πάνθειον). Xiphilinus tells us in his Epitome of Dion, that in the times of Titus, the Temples of Serapis and Isis; the Septa; the Temple of Neptune; the Baths of Agrippa; the Pantheon; the Diribitorium; the Theatre of Balbus; the Scena of Pompey; the houses of Octavius, with the books; the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with the adjoining Temples, were all destroyed by fire, which the Historian thinks were Divine, rather than human, occurrences. (Edit. Sylburg. Ed. 1590. p. 327.) See also Prep. Evang. Lib. III. cap. ii. p. 134. D. seq. It. Simsoni de Sibyl. Vaticin. disquis. col. 1712.

[2] I have been willing here to keep as closely as I could to the Syriac, which has, ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫ ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ. This happened in the times of Domitian, of which Suetonius (Lib. XI. cap. XV.) gives the following account. "Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit (i. e. Domitianus) *Feriat jam quem volet.* Tactum de cœlo Capitolium, templumque Flaviæ gentis; item domus Palatina et cubiculum ipsius; atque etiam è basi statuæ triumphalis titulus excussus vi procellæ in monumentum proximum decidit." &c. We are told in the next chapter, that on consulting a German soothsayer concerning this lightning, he was told that it portended *a change of things.* Which harmonizes well with the general expectations of those times. The soothsayer, however, appears to have lost his life,

93. With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, THE WORD OF GOD, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God[3]: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws;—of various kinds of instructions; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and lawgivers were seen among all the nations; and the name of virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent; and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from

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on account of this answer. Comp. Tacit. Hist. Lib. IV. 54, and Simson, Chron. Cathol. pars. vii. p. 1674. The Capitol was also burnt in the year before Christ, 80, together with the Chapel and Sybilline books. Simson, Chron. A. M. 3923.

[3] In like manner in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. C.

all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient.

94. Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life's becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable[1]. He accordingly came in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men,—who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel,—the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom; in order that by these, He might henceforth,—even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned,—instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be

[1] To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 79.... "*ἀνέτειλε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης γέγονεν, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, εὐτρεπίζοντος (τοῦ Θεοῦ) τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη, ἵν' ὑπὸ ἕνα γένηται τῶν Ῥωμαίων Βασιλέα· καὶ μὴ, διὰ τὸ προφάσει τῶν πολλῶν βασιλειῶν ἄμικτον τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, χαλεπώτερον γένηται τοῖς ἀποστόλοις του Ἰησοῦ τὸ ποιῆσαι ὅπερ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς,*" κ.τ.λ. "Exorta est enim in diebus ejus justitia, et multitudo pacis facta est mox ex quo natus est, præparante Deo gentes ad ejus doctrinam, ut omnes parerent uni Romanorum regi, néue, propter multitudinem regnorum interruptis gentium commerciis, difficilius fieret Jesu Apostolis illud mandatum ipsius," &c.

necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cauteries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease:—not the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to the sick: but, when they have become convalescent, they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome and strengthening food:—

95. So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the Shepherd and Physician of His rational flocks on earth, taught those—who had previous to His last divine manifestation entered into the many follies of a plurality of Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness attending (this) corruption of mind,—by bitter punishments, by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the withholding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning, did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy: besides, He afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a plurality of Gods.

96. He again as a good Father, thus also afforded instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them ungrudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the seasons; and the carrying forward of animal life. The rational means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these, and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews, the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the instruction pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages, and principal things, attending the Divine laws; such (I say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He again from his providential care, (and) by means of many others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men as then (existing).

97. Because therefore, the life of man had henceforward undergone a change, by means of these things, to a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did

the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them.

The End of the Second Book *of* (Eusebius) *of Cæsarea.*

BOOK III.

THE THIRD BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CÆSAREA.

1. BECAUSE[1] then, human life had undergone a change, through the things already mentioned, to a state henceforth of peace and rest, and had been prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth the divine revelation of Himself by very deeds, and at the time which was suitable. For, immediately and at once, when He appeared in the world, those things which appertained to the ancient service of Demons, were undone by the overthrow as it were, of (some ruinous) war-engine[2]; tidings announcing good things were preached to all nations, and God who is over all, the Propitiator of the children of men, was announced. The whole error of a plurality of Gods was also overthrown, and all the operations of demons were forthwith cast aside. Men again were no more sacrificed; nor were the slaughterings of human beings, which from former times had ruined the world, (persevered in). Nor again, were there multitudes of Rulers[3], Princes, Tyrants, and Governours of

[1] See also Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 10. seq. recurred to again, Book v. par. 52.

[2] This is obscure in the Syriac, and stands thus: أمر وحصصحا وحكاحدا هنا دشحي حصص. حكاحدا, is perhaps here for the Greek μηχανή; although حكاحدهص is given by Castell for this word: which, however, is put for the plural μηχανάς, and ought to have had the mark of the plural form (··) placed over it. It is marvellous that neither Castell nor Michaelis (his Editor) saw this! See 1 Maccab. vi. 20; not 3 Maccab. vi. 20, as Michaelis has given. Once for all, this Lexicon by Michaelis is, perhaps, the most incorrectly printed book that ever was published.

[3] Syr. أحنا, by mistake, perhaps, for أحنا, Rulers being sometimes styled Fathers. See my Heb. Lexicon under אב. III.

the people[1]. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men: the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all: and the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end. And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine[2]. And, in every village, city, and place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against another;—of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship: (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose

[1] Syr. ܥܡܐ ܘܫܘܒܛܐ. Castell and Michaelis seem to have had no very distinct notion of the sense of the latter word here. Our Author constantly uses it in the sense of *people* or *inhabitant*, generally. See Book II. par. 65, near the end.

[2] Alluding to what had been said above, about the successors of Alexander, Book II. sect. 77. Matter nearly allied to that in this paragraph, will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. seq. also, in the Demonstratio Evangelica, Lib. III. near the end, and above, Book II. sect. 66.

aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too,—since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many—soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accordance and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching[3] of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power: and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans[4] established among men; and, at once, was the (state of) the whole race of man changed to (that) of peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without

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[3] Alluding to the judgments, &c. spoken of above. Book II. par. 86.

[4] Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. D.

danger[1] to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens[2] of the Prophets, which we have not now leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the WORD OF GOD, which proclaimed thus: "*He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth*[3]:" and again, "*In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace*[4]:" and again, "*They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks*[5], *and nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war*[6]."

3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations[7]. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the "*power of God*," the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them.

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[1] Syr. بِلَا عَاصِفٍ, lit. *without storm*, or *tempest*, metaphorically, as the context manifestly requires.

[2] Syr. وَبَشَّا, صَحْفَكْمَا. The former of these words is not to be found in the Dictionaries: but, as the root is بشا, I have had no hesitation in translating it, as equivalent to the Hebrew, מַשָּׂאָה, and as signifying "burdens."

[3] Ps.. LXXIII. 8, according to the Peschito.

[4] Ib. ver. 7.

[5] Both these places are cited by Origen, Philocalia, cap. i. p. 4. Edit. Spencer.

[6] Is. ii. 4. according to the Peschito, except that for لَا نَشْمَعُ, we have here لَا نَشْبَ, which means much the same thing: and لَا نَتْعَلَّمُ is omitted. A large number of predictions to this effect will be found collected in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. capp. i. ii.—I will remark here, that, from the manner in which sentiments, similar to those occurring in this work, are given elsewhere by our author, this was probably his first production.

[7] So Lactantius, who was contemporary with our author: "Atqui impleta esse implerique quotidie illorum" (Prophetarum sc.) "vaticinia videmus." De falsa religione, Lib. I. cap. iv.

Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee).

4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence,—not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath;—and could effect so much, that he should be preached throughout the whole earth? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: "*Go and teach all nations*[8]." He said (also) to them,—what He had foretold and previously revealed,—that *it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations*[9]. And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately,—and not at a great distance of time,—the whole creation was filled with His words!

5. Now, What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), betake (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself,—

6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone.—Nor will this per-

[8] Matt. xxviii. 19. [9] Ib. xxiv. 14.

suade him who is not to be persuaded. Let the same then say to us, for we are willing to learn[1]—

7. Who, of those who have been praised for the wisdom of their observances, has ever so delivered the barbarous and brutal of barbarous nations, by his merciful laws, that those who became (His) disciples among the Scythians, feast (now) no more on human beings? nor, among the Persians, take their own mothers (as wives)? others too cast not their dead to the dogs[2]? nor do others deliver up those that are aged for strangulation? nor are other brutal and beastly things allied to these, done with others[2]? But these are only small proofs of the revelation of the Godhead of the Saviour of us all. Look now also at others, and consider with thyself:—

8. What mortal man, of all the Princes at once, and Kings, and Armies, and Companies, and Inhabitants, and Nations, ever existed during all these periods, who added this also (to his exploits), that even those who were thought to be Gods by the many, should wage war with Him,—and who at all times did wage war with Him;—but, that He shewed his pre-eminence so far to exceed that of man, that day after day there was exultation, and (that) His doctrine took effect throughout the whole world?

9. And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was set up, ever sought to constitute a people after his own name;—a thing never yet heard of:—and this, not in a corner, or obscurely in some part of the earth, but in the whole earth under the sun; (and) did so settle by the power of the rule of his Godhead, and so complete his wish, that he delivered the knowledge of the one God who is beyond the heavens, the King of the whole world, together with his fear, to all men on the face of the whole earth, to the nations both Barbarian and Greek?

10. Who ever set about to teach, and, after he had so engaged himself, brought, as in this marked instance, the matter to its right effect? and forthwith, through his

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[1] The Syriac is remarkable here; it stands thus; عكوم حن دأبكن كى بوصم اسمع وداكد.

[2] Alluding to what was said above. Book II. par. 81.

own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed God who is over all? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed!—How they were, see thou, and consider;—

11. What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate?

12. What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians,—more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks,—that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death?

13. And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was every where preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains? Nor again, should any earthly spirits[3], leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as

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[3] In the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. II. p. 181. D. he terms these, "οἱ περίγειοι δαίμονες, οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν ἀέρα, κοσμοκράτορες, καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας." See seq.

did the other which was in Colophon[1]: other fountains of divinations also became silent; the Pythian, the Clarian, the Nemean; that in Delphos, and Miletus; that in Colophon, and in Lebadia, of which (last) so much was boasted from ancient times. To the doctrine of Christ did they all accede. Where are (now) Amphilocus and Mopsus? There is not a man in (either) place! Where are Amphiaraus and Æsculapius[2]? Where is that (Image) of Ammon, and (which was) in the Desert of Lybia? All these Gods have crept under the earth, being alarmed at the name of our Saviour[3]! not unlike those their Princes who could not, when He went about among men, bear the rays of his Godhead[4], but grievously complained, crying

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[1] So Clemens Alexandrinus, as cited, Prep. Evang. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 61. D. "Σεσίγηται γοῦν καὶ ἡ κασταλίας πηγὴ, καὶ κολοφῶνος ἄλλη πηγὴ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως τέθνηκε τὰ μαντικὰ νάματα." κ. τ. λ. And, a little lower down. "Διήγησαι ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ μανικῆς τὰ ἄχρηστα χρηστήρια, τὸν Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδυμέα, τὸν Ἀμφιαρέων, τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον." κ. τ. λ. See the notes here to Viger's Edition, p. 3. See also Theodoret (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. x. p. 623. Tom. IV.), who goes much more at length into this subject, and mentions a greater number of these Oracles. Ib. p. 624, he cites a passage from Plutarch (De defectu Oraculorum) which affirms that Demons, ministers of the Gods, not the Gods themselves, presided in these places; but disallows the bold assertion of Empedocles, that they were evil and injurious to men. See the rest of this Tract. See also Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i.

[2] See Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 180. A. where similar matter will be found.

[3] Alluding evidently to Is. ii. 18—22.

[4] Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 179. C... "εἰς πάντας φωτὸς δίκην ἐξέλαμψεν ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἔνθεος καὶ εὐαγγελικὴ δύναμις." The Syriac speaks here much stronger on the divinity of our Lord. His words are, ...ڠڠڠڠ ڠڠڠڠ ڠڠڠڠ ڠڠڠڠ, which is rendered sufficiently literal above. These Demons were considered as constituting various classes among the Greeks: the first residing in the Stars: the second consisting of those who had benefited mankind by their labours, and were termed Heroes, as Hercules, the Tyndarides, Bacchus, &c.; the third consisted of those fabulous beings which had, under the garb of philosophy, been deified by the Poets. The fourth contained, Venus, Mercury, &c. The fifth contained those said to be famous for art, as Vulcan, Mars, &c. To these they added a sixth and seventh,

out, "*What have we to do with thee, Jesus*" (thou) "*Son of God,*" and saying, "*Art thou come before the time to torment me? We know thee who thou art, that thou art the Holy One of God*[5]." The Egyptian Demons therefore, when hearing that the doctrine of our Saviour was preached in the whole of their land, confessed that they themselves were nothing! They gave up accordingly the places subject to their customs to be destroyed, together with (their) Fanes and Images, and betook themselves to flight[6] and departure; driven away as they were by the Divine power. The divinations too of every place were destroyed; and the Christ of God alone, and the one only God who was preached by him to all men, became the object of divine worship.

14. What other (person) moreover, has, like this our Saviour, given such power to those who have, in purity and sincerity, arrived at the life of excellence and of wisdom which has been delivered by Him, that they should by calling on Him, and by means of pure prayers offered up through Him to Almighty God, cast out that superabundance of evil Demons from the human body?

15. What other too, except Him alone, has granted to those who draw near to Him, that they should perform the rational and unbloody services which are (offered) by means of prayer, and the secret (use of) the Divine

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who took at one time the forms of Gods, at another, those of Ghosts (manium). These all again, were divided into two classes, the one consisting of good, the other of evil Demons. Prep. Evang. Lib. v. III. p. 182. seq. It is added, from the authority of Plutarch that, from this last sort, all the Grecian oracles were given out. See also, ib. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 141. Of all these,—according to our author, Demonst. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. viii. p. 157. D. seq.—Satan is the chief head and prince: and the rest generally fallen spirits.

[5] Matth. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34. Our passage, however, agrees with neither of the places exactly. It was most likely, quoted by memory only. See also Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. D. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. x. p. 163. D.

[6] Ib. Prep. Evang. Lib. v. I. p. 180. A. The whole subject of Demonology is discussed at great length in the Prep. Evang. to which I must refer the reader, as he will there find almost every thing necessary to be known on this subject, given from the best authorities among the Greeks themselves.

announcements? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations?

16. Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire?—those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done?—that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times, but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian[1], that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth?

17. Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth? and to confess His divine and living (active) power? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible.

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[1] Syr. ܗܕܪܝܢܘܣ. This is also found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. p. 164. C.—"οὐ πρότερόν τε παῦλαν τῶν τοσούτων γενέσθαι τῷ βίῳ κακῶν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καταλάμψαι διδασκαλίαν; ὅτι δὴ μέχρι τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων διαμεῖναι ταῦτα· λελύσθαι δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου παρέστησεν ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος." κ. τ. λ. See also ib. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. C. D.—Ib. Porphyry is (p. 181.) cited, as bearing witness to this fact, thus: "Νυνὶ δὲ θαυμάζουσιν, εἰ τοσούτων ἐτῶν κατείληφε τὴν πόλιν ἡ νόσος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν θεῶν μηκέτ' οὔσης. Ἰησοῦ γὰρ τιμωμένου, οὐδεμίας τις θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας ἤσθετο." Ib. p. 156. B, as taken from Porphyry's Second Book on Abstinence, cited from Pallas on the Mysteries of Mithra. The words of Pallas however, are, "τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας σχεδὸν τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι . . . ἐφ' Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος." Whence Valesius argues, (notes to Laudd. Const. p. 258. D.) that Eusebius has rather overstated the matter; assuming that this had *every where* been done, when, at that very time human sacrifices were offered up at Rome.

18. The Race therefore which contended with God, disturbed the life of man, and introduced, led on, and could effect much, has suddenly, lately, and but a short time ago—because driven out from among men,—been cast to the earth, as an object deserving of the utmost contempt[2], breathless, motionless, speechless, and again, bereft both of utterance and of remembrance!

19. This mortal nature therefore, and again that which has no proper existence, is (as) nothing. And that which is (as) nothing, is likewise inoperative. But, (as to) Him who acts at all times, and is every moment operative, and is more potent than any living creature, How can He be supposed to have no proper existence, although not visible to the bodily eyes? But, discrimination is not by the senses; nor do we try the terms of art, the perception of doctrines, nor yet the mind of man, by the bodily senses: much less can man ever see with the eyes the person, or the power, of God. Nevertheless, these things may be known from the effects of their (several) operations. On this account, it is our duty to inform ourselves respecting the unseen power of the Saviour of us all, to prove His works, and to distinguish, whether we ought to confess that the things which have hitherto been done by Him, are of one living; or, whether we are to affirm, that they are of some one, who had no proper existence; or, whether this same thing be foolish, and the question respecting it inconsistent. For, he who has no proper existence[3] in all his parts, has, it is clear, no proper existence at all, and is unable either to act, or to effect any thing. Such is the nature which is dead; while that opposed to it is living.—But, it is now time we should investigate those works of our Saviour which appertain to our days, and to take a

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[2] Syr. ܡܬܒܙܥ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ. Of the last of these words no trace is found in the Dictionaries: but, as it is derived from the same root with the first, I have supposed it to have been added for the purpose of giving emphasis, and have so translated it. Orat. de laudd. Const. p. 544. D.

[3] It is evident I think, from this mode of arguing, that Eusebius did mean to assert, the *Divine* and *self-existing* nature of Christ. See, too, the manner in which he argues against Plato, above. Book II. par. 33, 34, seq. with the notes. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 545. A.

view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

20. Some[1] of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so rase to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions[2]. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy;—they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all); but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength[3];—(then), forthwith—in one moment—and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment[4], so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time[5]. He therefore quickly

[1] Ib. B.

[2] Syr. ܒܟܠ ܙܢܝܢ ܙܢܝܢ ܚܣܝܪ ܣܓܝ ܒܝ ܗܘ.

[3] Syr. ܡܬܚܕܪ: which does not occur in Dictionaries; but, as the root is ܚܕܪ, there can be little doubt as to its meaning. Gr. *προμάχους καὶ προασκιστάς.*

[4] Syr. ܩܨܘ ܕܐܬܘ ܗܘ ܕܥܡ. The idiom is rather Latin than Syriac: i.e. "*pœnas dederunt.*" The Gr. has, δίκας ὑπεῖχον.

[5] We have nothing here corresponding to the Gr. ὁλοσχερῶς ἔσπευδον.

established throughout the whole earth the signal mark of victory, and adorned (it), as from the first, with Temples which were pure, and distinguished (set apart) as for the prayers of the whole creation; so that He consecrated holy and dedicated places, in every village, city, place, and even in the deserts of the Barbarians, to the One God (and) King of all;—to Him who is the Lord of all[6];—that He might hence dignify the things (so) set apart, with the name of Him who was their Lord. Nor was it of man, that (this) happy appellation fell to their lot; but it was of Him who is Lord of all, that hence they were each dignified with the name of "the House of the Lord[7]." Let any one who wishes then, stand forth in the midst and learn, who it was that, after all this subversion and destruction, raised up on high from the earth, buildings such as these throughout the whole creation; and who it was, that vouchsafed to afford to these things, of which every hope had been cut off, a renovation far better than they formerly had! Nor was the great miracle of THE WORD, which renewed these, delayed until after the death of those who contended with God[8], but (took place) during their stay in the world. Those very persons (I say) who rased (the churches), did by their words and writings preach the new birth[9], which directly opposed their own (former) darings: and this they did, not

[6] So also Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. i. p. 179. B.

[7] Syr. ܗܘ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܒܝܬ, lit. *He made worthy of the name of the House of Lordship.* Gr. "κυριακῶν ἠξίωνται τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν." Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xvii. p. 546. A. The above affords a curious instance of our Translator's attempt to be literal, as it does of the poverty of the Syriac language for discussions such as this.

[8] The Syriac has, ܥܠ, which is, no doubt, the error of some copyist, who seems to have misunderstood the intention of the prep. ܒ here. The Greek, however, (de laudd. Const. p. 546. A.) has..."οὐ μετὰ τὴν θεομάχον ἐκείνων τελευτήν." "Non post mortem illorum Dei hostium," &c.

[9] The Syriac has here, ܬܘܒ ܝܠܕܐ, lit. *new birth:* but the Greek "παλινῳδίαν." *recantation.* The Syriac probably had ܬܘܒ ܡܠܠܐ, which, the copyist not understanding, changed to the more usual word in the text.

when enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men[1]; but when driven forth by the stroke of God.

21. He[2] then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men [3]zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women[4], and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness.

22. Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days? to sleep on the earth? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul,—the one for the other,—which are obtained by the divine reading?

23. And, Who taught men, barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves[5], to despise death? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal? that the eye of justice[6] was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust? and to hope for the judgment of God?—That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of righteousness and temperance? And, that if they were

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[1] Our text here does not favour the conjecture of Valesius. (Notes, p. 259.)

[2] This section commences in the Greek with τίς. Instead of ὅστι, therefore, we ought probably to have ܡܢ.

[3] Syr. ܥܠܡܣܛܐ, which occurs not in the Dictionaries. The Gr. has ζηλωτάς. The root, therefore is ܣܛ.

[4] So also the emendation of Valesius, ib. B.

[5] Syr. ܘܒܬܘܠ ܣܓܝܐ. Gr. πλήθη τε μυρία μυρίων ἐθνῶν. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 546. B.

[6] Gr. καὶ δίκην ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπάρχειν ἔφορον. The Syr. should be read, ܥܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ, not, ܥܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ. *The eye of justice.* Laudd. Const. p. 546. and Valesius, notes, p. 259, proposes δίκης ὀφθαλμῶν, which our Syriac countenances.

not so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God?

24. But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following):—O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error[7], but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul,—

25. What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enouncements from above of the Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family?—those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

26. Or, Who so suddenly[8] appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously, He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule?—For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things)!

27. And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly foretold the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects?—who said of the impious (Jews), "*Behold, your house is left desolate*[9]*; nor shall stone remain upon*

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[7] Syr. ܠܐܦܣܝܩ, which occurs in no Dictionary; but, as the root ܦܣܩ does, its sense is obvious. The Greek however, has ἠλιθίου. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 546. D.

[8] Gr. αὐτῷ ταχύς. Valesius proposes οὕτω ταχύς, which our Syr. ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ, supports. Ib. p. 547. A.

[9] Matt. xxiii. 38: Luke xiii. 35, reading ܒܝܬܟܘܢ, instead of ܒܝܬܟܘܢ ܗܕܐ of the Peschito.

stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down[1]." And of His Church He said; "*Upon this rock I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it*[2]?"

28. And this also, that He should change men poor and rustic, from the occupation of fishing, to that of rule? and, that He should make these into Lawgivers, and Teachers, of the whole creation of man? How is it to be imagined by thee, that He then (so) made the promise by word, and brought it to pass in deed, that He made them "Fishers of men?" He gave them moreover, all this excellency and power, that they should compose and complete Books; and, that they should give such confirmation to these, that they should be received throughout the whole creation, in the languages of both the Greeks and Barbarians? and, that in all nations they should be taught, and believed, as containing the written words of God[3]?

29. And, How does it appear to thee, that He should foretel what was about to take place? and should previously testify to His Disciples, that, because they should give their testimony to Him, *they should come before Kings and Governours: and that they should be punished, and undergo grievous torments*[4]?—

30. And this also, that He should so prepare them, that they should voluntarily suffer? and, that they should

[1] Matth. xxiv. 2: Mark xiii. 2: Luke xxi. 6. differing in several respects from the Peschito: thus, ܠܐ ܐܫܐܪ ܒܟ ܚܕ ܐܒܢܐ ܕܢܬܬܪ ܠܐ ܐܫܐܪ ܠܟ ܗܪܟ. Quoted, perhaps, in the first instance from memory: and, in the second, translated from the Greek so written. Several prophecies on the coming of our Lord, the labours of the Apostles, and the fall of Jerusalem, will be found in Origen's Philocalia, cap. i. Edit. Spencer, and more fully in the Demonstr. Evang. of our author.

[2] Matt. xvi. 18. The latter member reads thus: Syr. ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܒܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܫܬܐ. Differing from the Peschito in the term ܟܐܦܐ only. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 547. A.

[3] There is another member here in the Greek. (Laudd. Const. ib. B.)

[4] Matt. x. 18: Mark xiii. 9: Luke xxi. 12. The passage however, does not appear to be a literal citation, but only a general mention of the thing in question. Laudd. Constant. p. 547. C.

so firmly arm their souls with the armour of righteousness as with adamant, that they should be seen (engaged) in conflict against those who opposed them ;—How does not this surpass all description?

31. Nor was it only, that He impressed on the souls of those who (immediately) followed Him such power, that when, having done nothing worthy of death, they willingly underwent every species of punishment and torment, for the sake of the righteousness of that God who is over all; but also, on those who received (it) from them; and so again, on those who came afterwards; and on those even to this present, and (who live) in our own times ;—How does this not transcend every sort of miracle[5]?

32. Besides, Which of the kings ever remained prosperous in his rule, throughout all this length of time? And, Who is he, who so conquered after his own death, and established the mark of victory over his enemies, that he subdued every region, place, and city, both of the Greeks and Barbarians? and beat down, by the hidden and invisible power of (his own) right hand, that which opposed him?

33. But[6], the chief of all the things that have been mentioned, is that peace which was, by His power, supplied to the whole earth; of which we have already said what was proper. And, What mouth of the calumniator would not (the consideration) close, that love and concord so ran together with His doctrine in (effective) operation, into all nations? and, that the peace which took place among the nations throughout all the world, and the word, which was sown (as seed) by Him among all nations, had formerly been so foretold by the Prophets of God? But a (whole) day would be too short, were I to attempt to collect and shew within it, the open proofs of the divine power of the Word of God, the Saviour of all, which have been put forth up to this time. So that there never was a man at any time, no not among the Greeks, who has shewn forth such transcendent and divine power as He has, who has been preached to every man, and is the Saviour of all, and the

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[5] Ib. Laudd. Constant. D. where the Greek is more full.

[6] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.

only (begotten) WORD OF GOD who is above all. But, Why do I say "of men?" when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this): let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven, —a thing not of recent occurrence,—to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done)? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which is of time (only); and to hope for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God?

34. What [1] God or Hero [2] is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service?

35. What [3] God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this)? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD?

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[1] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 548. C.

[2] The Greek has, "ἢ καὶ ἥρως ἄνθρωπος," which the Latin translator gives, "sive heros, sive homo." The Syriac is more correct, ܐܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘ. Christophorson, according to Valesius, (notes, p. 260,) expunged the latter word, "non male:" but suggests, that ἢ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, "vel certè," μήτιγε ἄνθρωπος, might have been the true reading. According to the Syriac, Christophorson was right: and, in this case, Valesius wrong.

[3] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.

36. What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth,—to those on the land, and on the sea[4],—that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun's day[5]? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear—but their souls—that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live?

37. What[6] God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour)[7] has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last[8]: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, together

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[4] So the Greek. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 548. D.) τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν. Lat. "sive in insulis."

[5] Gr. τὴν κυριακὴν χρηματίζουσαν ἡμέραν. Lat. "Dominicum diem." The Syriac is more literal. Ib. "καὶ αὐτὰ σώματα πιαίνειν." Valesius, "Non dubito quin Eusebius scripserit, καὶ οὐ τὰ σώματα πιαίνειν." The Syriac differs here, in adding ܒܩܕܫܐ, "*in holiness.*" In other respects the conjecture of Valesius is confirmed by it. On the general observance of the seventh day (or Sunday). See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xii. p. 667, from Aristobulus; and ib. cap. xiii. p. 677, from Clemens Alexandrinus. See also my Sermon on the Sabbath, Edit. 2. London, 1834, Duncan. Whence it should seem, that this must have been the Patriarchal, and consequently the day of the primæval, sabbath. (Gen. ii. 2, 3.) The sabbath of the Jews was a totally different thing. That was to recur *yearly*, after the day of preparation: i. e. on the 15th day of the month Abib. (Comp. Exod. xii. 6. with Mark xv. 42.) It could not have recurred, therefore *every seventh day:* that was impossible. The Jews do however, observe every seventh day. They have therefore, lost the sabbath of Moses entirely. While the Christians actually keep the primitive sabbath, with the additional sanctions of the Resurrection of our Lord, and of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost. See also my Heb. Lexicon, under חָדַשׁ.

[6] Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. D.

[7] Gr. "σωτήρ." The Syr. has omitted the equivalent, ܦܘܪܩܢ, which however I have deemed it right to introduce; as the sense requires it.

[8] So the Gr. ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εἰς τέλος, although the Latin does not express this.

with the houses of God, to great glory! But, Why should we wish to circumscribe[1] by words, the divine powers of the Saviour of us all, which exceed all description? When behold! should we remain silent, the things themselves would cry out to those, whose souls have ears?

38. This[2] is strange indeed, and something not to be imagined; at any period too, it must be a singular thing (which) He brought to this world of mankind, and, that the only Son of God should in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth:—and that the whole race of man should through Him, receive one who should in his own (human) nature, so introduce him to the righteousness which is true[3], that henceforth there should be set up throughout the whole creation of man, places for instruction in the Divine enouncements and teaching; and that men, barbarous and fierce, should so change their minds to peacefulness, that the rational disposition of their souls should receive of His virtue; and, by His means, acknowledge their Father who is in heaven[4], with the Saviour of all, the ONLY (begotten)

[1] Gr. "*φιλοτιμεῖσθαι συνάγειν.*" Syr. ܙܒܕܩܢ. And certainly *φιλοτιμεῖσθαι* seems as unnecessary, as it is unlikely to have been used by Eusebius.

[2] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 549. A.

[3] This whole section is extremely obscure in the Syriac, and is, probably, in a corrupt state. It begins thus, ·ܗܕܐ ܕܬܡܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܟܠ ܓܢܣܐ ܢܬܩܒܠ ܠܗ ܕܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܢܦܠ ܠܬܪܨܝܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܢܬܩܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܒܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܬܬܣܕܪ ܒܗ ܡܟܢܐ ܠܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܘܠܡܠܦܢܘܬ ܡܠܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܘܕܢܫܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܘܩܝܡܐ ܢܬܦܟܚܘܢ ܠܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܟܠ ܓܢܣ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܒܗ ܢܬܩܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܟܢ

Word of God, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should so render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth!

39. These acts, therefore,—pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of the Word of God among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men[5]—He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel,—not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter,—openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men. How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence,—that unembodied and incorporeal mind, the Word of God,—otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him;—or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation[6], —if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by an Inter-

[5] Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 536. A. gives also the following matter.
[6] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.

preter? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they knew not from the multitude of His works? On this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them; for they say, "Every thing loves its like[1]." For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did THE WORD OF GOD,—who was about to be for the healing of souls,—that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were. Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power; an Image pure, and in every thing excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimated images[2]. For that which was of inanimate

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[1] This adage, "ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ φίλον," will be found in the, "Adagiorum D. Erasmi...Epitome. Amst. 1649. p. 480. Syr. ܕܡܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܘܥܨܦܐ ܠܥܨܦܐ ܕܡܐ ܠܫܡܐ. The Persians have a very neatly expressed adage to this effect, in these words;

هم جنس با هم جنس کند پرواز کبوتر با کبوتر باز با باز

Which may thus be paraphrased,—

Kind to his kind with pleasure hies,
And hawk with hawk, pigeon with pigeon flies.

[2] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 536. C.

matter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence,—the Divine Image, the habitation of THE WORD OF GOD, and the holy temple of the holy God,—was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter; but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man: nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For[3], as the rays of the sun's light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, suffers nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever diminished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician[4] (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage)

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[3] This argument is given also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xiii. p. 170. A. and ib. Lib. VII. cap. i. p. 314. C. D. as well as in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 536. D.

[4] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. A. it. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xiii. p. 168. D.

therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, THE WORD OF GOD, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil. He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom: this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man[1], not to animals that are irrational; and healed[2], by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid[3] of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves,—to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental,—God in man! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body[4], should be apparent to men's bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue[5]. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore,—as it were by an Interpreter,—to those who otherwise could not,—except only in this way,—be made sensible of His Godhead. These[6] things too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His

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[1] Syr. read لحمة إلهما, errat.

[2] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.

[3] Syr. حمة لحمة ووزحا حمة بسمة. Both the sense and the construction require that the reading should be, حمة وزحا وحمة بسمة which the construction لحمة ووزحا, seems to me abundantly to confirm. The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. B. does not verbally agree with our text.

[4] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. it.

[5] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. XIII. p. 169. A.

[6] Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. C. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. it. ib. cap. XIV. p. 170. D. it. ib. p. 165. B.

(former) nature; nor was He confined by the bonds of the body; nor was He here, only such as His human vessel was; nor was He restrained from being in other places of (this) whole: on the contrary, even then, when He conversed among men, did He fill all things: was with His Father[7] and was in Him; and then also, He fully and providentially took care of all things, whether in heaven, or on the earth. Nor was He ever, as we are, withholden from being near to every thing; nor was He hindered from acting, after His own divine manner. On the contrary, the things that were of Himself He gave to man; but, those which were of man, He took not. Of His divine power too, He provided for mortals; while from His participation with the mortal, He received nothing. Neither[8] was He who was incorporeal, polluted when born in the body. Nor again, did He who was impervious to passion, suffer in His (eternal) Essence, even when mortal nature had been assigned to Him. For, neither does he who strikes the lyre become in any thing subject to suffering, although the instrument should be broken, or the strings be cut: in like manner too, we[9] do not say when punishment is inflicted on the person of a wise man, that the wisdom of the wise man, or the soul which is in his body, is either cut off, or consumed. So, much less is it right we should affirm, that the Power of the Divine Word can receive any thing like loss from the sufferings of the body. Nor, does any thing forbid our affirming that,—since, in our example, the rays[10] of the Sun sent down from heaven to earth, permeated the clay, mire, and every sort of impurity,—the light was therefore in no respect polluted, although these things received light from its splendour. For the light did not (thus) become clay, nor did the Sun become polluted, by its commixture with (such) body; because these things are not foreign in their nature to bodies.

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[7] Comp. John iii. 13; vi. 46: xiv. 10, 11. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. D. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. C. seq.

[8] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 169. D.

[9] So the Gr. *φαίημεν ἂν εἰκότως*, although the Latin has, "*quisquam meritò dixerit.*"

[10] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. 169. D. it. 170. A. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 538. A.

But[1] He,—who is immaterial and incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, who is both the life, and intelligent light,—impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it); and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God THE WORD, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhibited Him who was invisible to the many, THE WORD OF GOD, by works, and by astonishing deeds; by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth): and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the heavenly city which is above[2], and to hasten to those their fellow-citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals: also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness,—so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven.

40. Thus therefore, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father[3]. By means of a man also, He shewed forth

[1] Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 538. B. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 170. A. B.

[2] The Greek text, (Laudd. Const. p. 538. C.) leaves us here, but joins us again, sect. 45, below.

[3] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xiii. p. 169. B. C.

God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered.—The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enouncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, "*Our Father who art in heaven*," and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above. If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and THE WORD OF GOD; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the Image of God[4], which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enouncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all, healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes had

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[4] Syr. ܕܨܠܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܗ ܕܟܝܢ, lit. *that his image, God who* (was) *within Him:* which, probably, ought to be written, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܗ, alluding to Heb. i. 3. "*the express image of his person.*" It is however, no uncommon thing with our Translator to be both defective and redundant in the use of this particle (ܕ), as remarked above.

not seen, and which had not entered into the hearing of men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God; made them wise through the power which cannot be described, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead. Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings (which were) helpful and right[1]; at another, delivering a view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those who were able to receive it. And, What need is there we should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke, He received those who were enemies to the truth: at once healing and instructing even these, by the open enouncement of His words? and, how meekly he presented His person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and passive? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of bodies? On this account, the name of JESUS was previously imposed on our Saviour[2];—which is a Hebrew word, designating JESUS as the Physician[3] of all. Now, the (propriety of the) imposition of the name designating *healing* on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly doctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and infirmities, by the power of the healing WORD. At one time, He cleansed the leprous in body[4]: at another, He cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed) men[5]: and, again at another, He freely healed those who had been reduced by disease! At one time also, to him—whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless,—

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[1] Alluding to the chastisements mentioned above, as inflicted on the heathen.

[2] Luke i. 31; ii. 21. Matt. i. 21. "*For he* SHALL SAVE *his people*," &c. plainly intimating, that the meaning of the Heb. ישע, should be preserved in it.

[3] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. x. pp. 164, D. 165. A. This is more correctly stated thus: "καθὸν δὲ ψυχῶν ἐμπαθῶν τὴν θεραπείαν ἐπαγγέλεται, σωτὴρ καὶ ἰατρὸς εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο." "Quatenus verò animarum ægrotantium medelam pollicetur meritò Salvator ac Medicus dicitur." See also ib. B. C.

[4] Matt. viii. 2, 3; xi. 5. Luke vii. 22; xvii. 22.

[5] Matt. ix. 32; xii. 22; xvii. 18, &c.

He said by word only, "*Arise, take up thy bed, and walk*[6];" and this (man) did what He commanded! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind[7]! And thus again, at another, a woman[8],—who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint,—thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed); she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing (away with her) a mighty proof of the power of THE WORD OF GOD! Another man[9] also, the servant of a king,—because his child was grievously afflicted,—fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue[10] of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored); but this was after she was dead! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another arose[11] by the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving WORD which called him? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters[12]? Or, how[13] when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds;—gave the commandment by word; and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord? (How) He so filled[14] and satisfied five thousand men,—when there was with them a company of many women and children,—with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets! To Whom is not this astonishing? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power?

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[6] Matt. ix. 6, &c.
[7] Ib. ver. 27; xi. 5; xx. 30, &c.
[8] Matt. ix. 20. seq. &c.
[9] Matt. viii. 5. Luke vii. 1, 2.
[10] Mark v. 22.—35. seq. &c.
[11] John xi. 1. seq.
[12] Matt. xiv. 25. Mark vi. 48. John vi. 19.
[13] Matt. viii. 24. seq. Mark iv. 37. seq. &c.
[14] Matt. xiv. 19. seq. ib. xvi. 9, &c.

41. Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour's Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this,—if he will also consider,—that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes,—that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works—is the death, which (His) Interpreter,—the clothing of THE WORD OF GOD, and the Image that was openly revealed,—underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

42. This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was, even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth;—

43. For said (the Evangelist,) "*He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father*[1]: and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; "*No man taketh my life from me;*" and, "*I have power to lay it down:*" and again, "*I have power*

[1] Matt. xxvii. 50, &c.

to take it up[2]: and again, "*I am the good shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me; and I lay down my life for my sheep*[3]." The cause of His death too, He establishes in a few words, when saying, that, "*Unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it remaineth alone; but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit*[4]."

44. Having then, delivered representations of this sort respecting[5] His own death, He effected the release from his soul[6], and made (His) departure from the body. After this, His body was taken up by his acquaintances, and was consigned to (its) due interment. Again on the third day, He resumed that (being) from which He had before, by the exertion of His own will, departed. And again, He shewed to his Disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance, just as it formerly was:— to them (I say) with whom He conversed a little, and with whom He remained a short time. He was then taken up whither He was before: and, before their eyes, did He make his departure and ascension to heaven, in order that they, to whom He had delivered (His) pledge as to deeds, might be made the Teachers of the fear of God who is above, to all nations.

45. Now[7], What can be wanting after these things, except that we should state the cause of THIS, which was the chief of all? I (now) speak of the close of His life, which has been spoken of by all; of the manner of His passion, and of the great miracle of His resurrection after

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[2] John x. 18. [3] Ib. ver. 14, 15. [4] Ib. xii. 24.

[5] We have, I think, here a Greek idiom which has contributed to make our Syriac rather obscure. ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܥܠ, I suspect, is a literal translation of the Greek πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ: where πρὸς has the sense of *respecting, concerning,* or the like. A similar instance occurs, Book II. §. 21, above, where we have ܡܢ ܠܥܠ, lit. *from above,* evidently in the sense of *anew, afresh;* from the Greek ἄνωθεν, in all probability.

[6] Syr. ܦܓܪܐ, which might mean *His person;* but, as it is here, as also above, opposed to ܦܓܪܐ, *the body,* I thought best to render it by *his soul* in each case.

[7] Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xv. p. 538. C.

death. After viewing[1] these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel,—for the reasons already given,—as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power.

46. For[2], if He had done otherwise,—after His dealings among men,—so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

47. Nor[3] could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the LIFE, the WORD and the POWER of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin.

48. Nor[4], could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion.

49. Nor[5] could it have been known, where He remained.

50. Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it);—nor had it been seen[6],—that His nature was superior to death.

51. Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature.

52. Nor[7], could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death.

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[1] Syr. ܚܙܝܬܐ, Gr. "τούτων θεωρίαν," which I cite, merely to shew our Translator's extreme care to be literal.

[2] Ib. D.

[3] Ib. p. 538. D.

[4] Gr. "τέλους ἠξιοῦτο." Syr. ܠܡܗܘܐ ܟܠܝܠ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ, the Latin, incorrectly, "*fuissent terminata.*"

[5] Ib. D.

[6] Ib. p. 539. A.

[7] Ib. where the Greek has a large addition.

53. Nor, could He have established a hope of the life that is with God after death, with those who drew near for (the reception of) His doctrine.

54. Nor, could He have fulfilled the promises[8] of His own words; nor have given to the prophecies, which went before respecting Him, a due fulfilment.

55. Nor[9], could He have overcome in the last conflict of all, which was opposed to the death that exists in all these things. For it was above all things right, that this mortal vessel should, after it had completed the service which it rendered to THE WORD OF GOD, obtain to itself an end worthy of God, (and that this) be through this same ordinance of death[10]. For, there were two things[11] resting upon (this) consummation; (viz.) either, that He should deliver up (His vessel) to entire corruption and destruction, and (so) make His whole conflict, and egress from this world, matter of shame; or, that He should afford proof, that this same was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, make immortal that which was mortal. The first however, was incompatible with the promise[12]. For, it is not the property of fire, to be cold; nor, of light, that it be dark: neither is it of life, that it should die; nor, of THE WORD OF GOD[13], that He should act with impropriety. For, What cause could He have, who promised life to others, for being unmindful of His own vessel when subject to corruption:—for delivering up His Image to destruction, and for surrendering the Interpreter of His own Godhead, to the corruption of death?—for Him to do so, who had

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[8] The Syr. reads ܒܝܕ, which doubtless ought to be ܒܝܕ; the Greek having *τὰς ἐπαγγελίας*.

[9] Ib. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 539. A. B.

[10] Syr. ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܝ. Gr. "*ταύτῃ πῃ καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος οἰκονομεῖται.*" Lat. "ideo, inquam, illius mors hoc modo dispensata est"—by no means exact.

[11] The note of Valesius here, (ib. p. 589. B. notes, p. 257.) is hypercritical: for, however the text might be worded, it is certain, that *one* only of the two things mentioned, could be meant.

[12] Syr. ܒܝܕ ܕܡܠܬܐ, for ܒܝܕ ܕܡܠܬܐ, without doubt: the Greek having, *τῆς ἐπαγγελίας*, as in sect. 58, above.

[13] Gr. *θείου λόγου*. Lat. Divinæ rationis.

previously promised to those, who should take refuge[1] in Him, the life which is impervious death? This (one) then, of two things was necessary:—this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this? Secretly, and by stealth? or, openly before all men, and manifestly[2]? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore,—because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death,—did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous[3], and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For[4] this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men. It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind,—as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say),—who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore,

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[1] Syr. ܕܢܣܒ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܒܗ. Gr. τὸν τοῖς πρόσφυξιν ἀθανασίαν προμνώμενον. This word, therefore, (ܡܬܚܙܐ not in the Lexicons) is a regular derivative from the root ܚܙܐ. Ib. p. 539. C.

[2] Syr. ܒܙܪܝܚܐ, *as by the rising of the Sun.* This word occurs in no Lexicon accessible to me: the root is ܙܪܚ.

[3] Syr. ܕܚܫ, which occurs in no Dictionary: but, as the root is ܕܚܠ, *timid, pusillanimous,* or the like must be its meaning. The Greek has (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 539. D.) δειλός.

[4] Wanting the Greek, ib.

THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters,—that (land I say), which the words of mystery style "*The Desert*," as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there "*forty days, and as many nights*[5]," He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetical Scriptures agree, where it is written, that "*Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights*[6], *and was with the wild beasts*[7]." And, What are these but the

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[5] The various methods had recourse to for the purpose of explaining this portion of scripture, may be seen in Kuinoël's commentary on Matt. iv. 1. Poole's Synopsis, ib. and on the parallel places. The comment given by Eusebius here is, certainly, a bold one. It is nevertheless, as I think, very much superior to that preferred by Kuinoël; viz. that the Devil here represents the high Priest of the Jews, who sent out his emissaries to Christ for the purpose of securing *his* influence, if possible, in favour of their policy. See the commentators on Matt. iv. with its parallel places. As I do not see any necessity here for departing from the simple and obvious declarations of the Evangelists, I will only remark, that our Lord seems to have been led to this, for the express purpose of being tempted, or tried, by Satan, "πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου," says St Matthew. Comp. Mark i. 13, Luke iv. 2. And, as Demoniacal influence is repeatedly and positively taught in the New Testament, I do not see why this should be doubted. It is certain moreover, that this Demoniacal influence was restrained by our Lord, and that these Demons knew Him. See Matt. viii. 28—32; xii. 22—29; xvii. 18—21. Mark i. 23—26, 34, &c. with their parallels. He also gave power to His disciples over these unclean spirits, Matt. x. 1. Luke ix. 1: and over all the power of the enemy, ib. x. 19. Ib. ver. 18, He speaks of Satan falling from heaven. Again, these spirits could not have been ignorant of the birth of Christ, as announced by the Angels and others, Luke ii. 9—15. ib. ver. 25. seq. comp. ib. xxi. 14—22. From all which it must appear, that these were *real beings*, at once *intelligent and potent*; and that our Lord actually restrained, and otherwise overcame, them. The temptation in the desert was therefore probably intended, among other things, to shew them that the Redeemer was now come, and that Jesus was that very person. Eusebius is therefore, in the main, right; although it does not appear necessary to have recourse to all the figures which he has introduced.

[6] Matt. iv. 2, with the omission of "*fasted.*"

[7] Mark i. 13.

princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are,—and has named by way of figure,—"*Serpents*," "*Adders*," "*Lions*," *and* "*Dragons*," on account of the similitude to the viciousness of each of these: (saying) "*Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon*[1]*?*" The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, "*His truth shall gird thee* (as) *a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee*[2]*.*"

56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was it tardily that THE WORD OF GOD drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man's) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (THE WORD) should shew,

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[1] Ps. xci. 13, as in the Peschito. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IX. p. 437. seq.

[2] Ps. xci. ver. 4, seq. With the Peschito, except that for ܒܪܡܐ, it has ܪܡܐ; and for ܫܠܚܐ,—which is probably the error of some copyist,—it has ܫܠܚܢܐ; for ܚܒܠ, ver. 6., our MS., gives ܙܚܝ: which strikes me as a good interpretation of ܚܒܠ here. The Syriac Translator of the Psalms seems to have read, instead of דֶּבֶר, as in our copies now, דָּבָר; probably in the sense of *thing*, or *matter*.

that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in THE WORD, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery[3] (the Scriptures).

57. Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons: and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things,—as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen,—He thus spoke, and He established (it), "*Be of good courage, I have overcome the world*[4]." The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): "*No man can enter the house of a strong man and spoil his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he shall spoil his house*[5]." He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and errror, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death.

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[3] See 1 Cor. xv. 21. "*For, since by man came death, by* MAN *came also the resurrection of the dead:*" comp. Rom. v. 15—20. See also Theodoret's Dialogue III, entitled *ἀπαθής*, "impatibilis," (Deus sc.) Tom. IV. p. 116. seq. where (p. 134.) treating, of the assumed human nature, ("*τῆς ληφθείσης...φύσεως,*") he thus beautifully speaks, "*ἐπειδὴ ταύτῃ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδαμ παρεξήτασε. ταύτης γὰρ ἡ δικαίωσις, ταύτης ἡ πάλη, ταύτης ἡ νίκη, ταύτης τὰ πάθη, ταύτης ὁ θάνατος, ταύτης ἡ ἀνάστασις, ταύτης κοινωνοῦμεν τῆς φύσεως, ταύτῃ συμβασιλεύουσιν οἱ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν πολιτείαν προμελετήσαντες,*"... "quia secundùm hanc comparavit Adamum cum Christo (sc. Apostolus). Hujus enim est justificatio, hujus lucta, hujus victoria, hujus passiones, hujus mors, hujus resurrectio, hujus sumus naturæ participes, cum hac regnabunt qui se ad convenientem illi regno vitæ rationem præpararint."

[4] John xvi. 33. [5] Matt. xii. 29. Mark iii. 27.

For it was right that He,—who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been attached to God the Word,—should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz.) the victory over Death. For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them); directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And[1], just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also the Word of God, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life[2], conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient. He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuking[3] of its (sinful) nature; and again,

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[1] The Greek of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. again joins us here, cap. xv. p. 539. D.

[2] Gr. "τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς τε καὶ ἀθανασίας," ib. p. 540. A.

[3] Gr. "εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως." Lat. trans. "ut ejus natura hoc indicio probaretur." Our translator gives, ܠܡܚܘܝܐ ܕܒܥܘܬܗ: taking ἔλεγχον in its most obvious sense, and, as I think, in that which Eusebius intended: not for the purpose of implying, that the nature of Christ deserved this rebuke, but that mortality did, for the sins of which He engaged to suffer. The note of Valesius on "Christ's leaving the body for a short time,"—intimating that this required a benignant interpretation, because, as he says, He never left it even for

He soon raised up the same from death, for the purpose of proving that the Divine power, which was by Him,—that eternal life, (I say) which was preached by Him,—was superior to every kind of death.

58. This[4] therefore was the first cause. The second was, to shew that the Divine power resided in the human body. Because men had formerly made gods for themselves of those who were men mortal in reality, had been overcome by death, (and) in whom the last common extremity had been witnessed; and had named those heroes and gods, who had been taken away by death; on this account therefore, He happily shewed Himself; and for this cause, the same compassionate WORD OF GOD exhibited to men, the nature which was superior to death, and brought in mortality—after its dissolution—to a second life. He also afforded to all, the means of viewing the signal victory of life immortal over mortality; and taught (them) by (His) death to confess Him alone to be the God of truth, who had (so) bound the crown[5] of victory over death, about His own head.

59. The third cause of (His) death was, the redemption that is (taught) in hidden (mystical) terms, which are these in effect: He was the sacrifice[6] which was consigned to death, for the souls of the whole race (of man): the sacrifice (I say) which was slain for the whole flock[7] of man-

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a moment, but only allowed it to be destitute of the companionship of the soul a little while,—seems to me marvellously hypercritical. For, if it was allowed to be thus bereaved, we can perhaps hardly suppose that the Godhead accompanied it in the grave. What this benignant interpretation might be, I confess I am at a loss to imagine.

[4] Ib. p. 540. C.

[5] The Greek has here, (loc cit.) "*τὸν τὰ βραβεῖα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκης ἀναδησάμενον,*" which the Latin Translator gives in "*qui victoriam de morte reportasset.*" Less exactly than the Syriac Translator. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 540. D. 541. A.

[6] Syr. ܕܒܚܐ, (with ribbui) as if designating the plural number. This mark is, however, occasionally used as a mark of quotation; and it is probable it was so applied here by our Translator, as also in the next line; while in the following it is omitted. I did not deem it right, when printing the Syriac text, to alter these marks.

[7] Our MS. has here ܥܕܐ, for ܐܝܠܐ, no doubt, the Greek having *ἀγέλης*, ib. The same mistake has been made a little lower down,

kind: the sacrifice turning (men)[1] back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore,—the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices,—was the Body of our Saviour which was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up[2] for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption,—the bodily Vessel of THE WORD OF GOD,—was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: "*Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He* (it is) *who taketh away the sins of the world*[3]." And at another, thus previously enouncing: "*As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent*[4]." And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying: "*Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated*[5]. *He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes are we healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all*[6]." This bodily vessel therefore of THE WORD

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where the same term occurs. The reason of this, and of similar changes of ̣ to ̇, and ̇ to ̣, and particularly in proper names, I suspect to be a pronunciation in some respects similar, given to these letters in the mouth of a native Syrian.

[1] Syr. ܐܦܛܪܘܦܐ, Gr. ἀποτρόπαιον. Lat. Trans. "*profligavit.*" Inferior to the Syriac.

[2] Syr. ܣܠܩ, *came up*, as an offering here, apparently.

[3] John i. 29, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. cap. x. p. 37. A.

[4] Is. liii. 7.

[5] Ib. ver. 4—7. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. C.

[6] Comp. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 164.

OF GOD, was, for these reasons, sacrificed. But He, the great High Priest who officiates as Priest to God, the King of all, and Lord of all, is another distinct from the sacrifice, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD: He too, after no long time, raised mortality from death, making him (so raised) by participation, the beginning of the redemption of us all, and of that immortal life which is with God. Him too, (thus) vested with the mark of victory over death, and the deeds of the Demons; of those human sacrifices which had been delivered down from ancient times, did He constitute the Destroyer, for the sake of all mankind. Hence also was the name of *Messiah* (Christ) given to Him; which, among the Hebrews, attaches[7] in like manner to the chief priest. He therefore received the two names: the name of *Jesus*, implying the sacrifice of *salvation;* and that of High Priest, the WORD OF GOD, who officiates as Priest for us all:—the custom of the Hebrews intimating (this) of the Messiah (Christ.)

60. After the things which have been said, the latter was the great cause of (His) death, viz. the Redemption spoken of[8]: because, it was necessary to the disciples that

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[7] Syr. ܢܡܫ, which, I think, must be an error, for ܢܡܫ. I have, therefore, translated it accordingly by *attaches*. In the Hebrew, the signification of Messiah, מָשִׁיחַ, is *anointed*. The priests, kings, and others, were so styled, because consecrated to their offices by *the anointing of oil*, as our Lord was by an extraordinary portion of the Spirit. (See Is. LXI.). *Christ* in the Greek signifies the same thing. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xi. ib. xvi. p. 184.

[8] Our author seems, in this article, to have had strongly impressed on his mind the distinction made by the Apostle, when he speaks of Christ in his human character only; e. g. "Since *by man* came death, *by man* came also the resurrection of the dead." 1 Cor. xv. 21. So ib. ver. 47. "The *first man* is of the earth...the *second man* is the Lord," &c. So 1 Tim. ii. 5. "*The man* Christ Jesus:"..."who gave himself a ransom," &c. Again, Heb. viii. 3; x. 12. "*This man*," speaking of Christ as a Priest, comp. ib. iii. 3; vii. 4, 24, &c. and of His Body, ib. x. 5, 10. The Apostle however, makes no such distinction in his names: nor was it necessary he should. This distinction in Eusebius is, nevertheless, valuable.—Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 541. C. where the Greek leaves us; but has the following matter, ib. p. 540. A. B. seq. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. x. p. 164. D.

they should see, with their own eyes, the life which was after death, He (thus) openly taught them to place their hope in this second birth. And, because He also encouraged them to be strong in the yoke of righteousness, He well delivered this, in order that they might, with their own eyes, see it. For it was necessary for these, who were about to be brought to the life of righteousness, that, first of all, they should receive this most necessary doctrine by means of open view; and much more, for those who were soon to preach it throughout the whole creation, and to cause the knowledge of God, (so) given by them, to arise (as the sun) in all nations, (and) among all men. It was necessary, that these men should receive the strongest persuasion of the life which is after death, so that they might accept fearlessly, and unmoved in their minds[1] by death, the conflict against the error of many gods. For, if they had not been taught to despise death, neither would they have ever been prepared to approach afflictions. On this account, He the more particularly armed them against the power of death. Nor was it by precepts and words (only), that He delivered to them this doctrine: nor, in persuasive terms or similitudes, that He composed (his discourses) as men do, on the immortality of the soul; but He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory (obtained) over death.

61. For death had been, from ancient times, fearful to all men as the destroyer of our mortal race; its power being considered the undoing of the whole nature of man, both soul and body. Nor was there ever a man, who could relieve human nature from this fearful being. All were pierced[2],

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[1] Syr. ܚܠܝܫܐ, which is, most likely, the error of some copyist, for ܚܠܝܫܝܐ. The Greek too has, (Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 540. B.) "τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης ἀγῶνα προθύμως ἀνεδέξοιντο."

[2] Syr. ܫܦܝܪ. A word occurring in no Syriac Dictionary. We have however, in the Chaldee, שְׁפַד, "*infigere veru, ad veru carnes affigere.*" Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. Talm. &c. col. 2490: also Arab. "سفد, *aptavit in veru carnem assandam:*" so that we need not doubt as to its general sense.

(as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form, or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster,—who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race,—was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God: nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls. They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto[3],—the god of riches,—to Death: and Death became their god! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God! the common aliments, a God! the seed which fell into the earth, a God! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God! the flowers of the apples, a God! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God! the love of the body, a God! and the very lust of these things! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid[4] to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus)—and of Hercules—who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus! Hence the

[3] Syr. ܦܠܘܛܘܢ. See Book II. sect. 4. seq.

[4] Book II. sect. 15.

madness of Jupiter after women, and his love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was Death the (originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of bodies and souls; and that there was no other life, except this of the body, and which is corporeal:—living a life worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts! On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal King, THE WORD OF GOD, at the intimation of His merciful Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these, to hasten,—as a king great in mercy,—and to undertake the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature; being as He was, THE LIFE, THE WORD, and THE POWER OF GOD. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that He caused that fearful being among men to be reproved: on this account, He, who was incorporeal,—availing Himself of human armoury, and of a mortal body,—by means of mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mystery, that of His Body, was instituted; and hence, the signal mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemoration of the life which is eternal and immortal, He named[1] *His remembrance.* Of the armoury which is mortal, He availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mortality to be food for the beasts[2]; and He himself was forthwith affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that which was done concealed by any means; neither from men,

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[1] Syr. ضبهـ, to be read doubtless, ضبهـ, for the reason assigned above. Sect. 59, note. See also sect. 71, with the notes.

[2] Allusion seems here to be made to Ps. LXXIV. 14, in which we are told, that God brake the *heads of the Leviathan, and gave him to be meat to the* people inhabiting the wilderness. (Gr. Αἰθίοψι), taking the Leviathan as representing the evil principle which had corrupted mortality. Comp. Is. xxvii. 1, and see my notes on Job XLI. 1. Our author probably means, that He gave up His body to men, &c. who might be termed beasts, because of the fierceness of their nature. Comp. Ps. xxii. 12, 13, 16, 21.

nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior. For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view of mortality, as in a great theatre[3], when He (thus) testified of the nature of His (human) person; and afterwards (see) Death coming in like a fierce beast: and (also see), why it was that it slew Him: and (that) then, the Power of life came in after Death, and again established for all the victory which is over Death, when he had thus made that which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which had taken hold of him, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, left the Body for a short time; and it was suspended for a short space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the WORD, which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore (thus) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now borne by men; and—being worthy of the usual care—was afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And much did Death exult in this, as if, behold! he had (now) taken even this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the rebuke which was sufficient against Death[4]. For, if He had

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[3] So Paul, Col. ii. 15. "And having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it" (His cross).

[4] I.e. to prove that he really died. This was, no doubt, intended to have its force against the Docetæ, who held that it was a phantom only of Christ which had been affixed to the cross, and *appeared* to die, (which the Mohammedans, after these, still hold)—and thus virtually denying a vital point in the faith of a christian.

risen earlier (and) immediately, He would not then have been believed to have been dead. But, since He was (thus) in reality raised, He had also in reality died; and had, for a time, been in reality subject to Death; then also did the all-life-giving Word of God evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body)!

62. What things then came to pass after these, as to their being (actually) performed, it is not my intention henceforward to be thy teacher. Those who saw them will be the witnesses best fitted for the truth (in this respect); those (I say) who, from having seen the acts themselves, did, both by their blood and persons, attest their faith in Him: and who, by the power of Him, to whom they gave their testimony, filled the whole creation with the righteousness which was preached by them. Those therefore, who were spectators of the things then done, and who saw with their own eyes the Second Birth which became theirs[1], have delivered (this) by their own testimonies. It was not indeed, that the things done had been heard of by them, as far as word or enunciation (went); but, they had been seen, and accurately felt by those who testified respecting them: and on this account, these same, who had by open vision and in reality apprehended (these things), and had received the signal mark of victory over Death, learned well to be daring against Death; and taught this same thing to their Disciples, (viz.) that they had received from their Saviour, the truth pertaining to life immortal. And thus also, was the whole mortal race thence refreshed (as freed) from the fear of Death: because he, who had formerly been terrific, had suffered rebuke in the presence of all; and the life which was after death, had (now) received certain credibility; not from the artificial enouncements of Sophists, nor from the discovery of persuasive words; but, by the deeds which came forth to light. Nor again, did (men) as formerly tremble at death, but they laughed much and greatly in the hour of this fearful being; so much so

[1] Syr. ديلهون ادمي, lit. *which apprehended them:* alluding perhaps, to Philip. iii. 12, where the text of the Peschito uses this word in the same way.

that they even followd after death, on account of (their) desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

63. Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to attain to every (sort of) excellency: the (constant) recollection of God, and of the many enouncements respecting the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the true notion of the life which is after death, was stirred up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King of all. On this account did the whole race of man,—which had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of enouncements not to be described,—henceforward spit in the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system of error of their forefathers.

64. Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed in the heavenly doctrine, and the enouncements respecting the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars, did they address their veneration to them: but they acknowledged Him who is beyond these;—Him who is secret and invisible,—Him who is the Creator of all, and the Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to fear Him alone.

65. Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the body, which is fleeting[2] and corruptible, inanimate (in itself,) and irrational;—nor, that the primitive elements, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire,—were Gods; since he had also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly excelled these.

66. Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts; nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor[3]) can he, who has

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[2] Our text has an error of the press here, viz. ܠܐܒܕ̈ܐ, for ܠܐܒ̈ܕ.

[3] I think it highly probable that the Syriac negative, ܠ has in this place been lost, by the mistake of some copyist.

been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully.

67. Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter[1] of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva[2]; nor indeed, any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the WORD OF GOD, the Artificer of all, the WISDOM OF THE GOD OF ALL, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

68. Nor again as in former times, does he,—who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death; to his Saviour; —give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death.

69. Nor again as in former times, will he revere inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear[3] of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation[4] (of this).

70. Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits:—he (I say) who

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[1] Applying this term, as on several occasions, with reference to the human nature of Christ.

[2] Syr. ܐܬܐ, the Greek Ἀθήνη, *Minerva*, alluding, no doubt, to the practices of the heathen, who made, both of the bodies and mental faculties of men, Gods. See Book II. Par. 5, &c.

[3] Syr. ܕܚܫܐ, which should, from the ribbui or mark of the plural number, be considered as a plural according to the doctrine of the common Grammars: but the construction forbids this. The ribbui here,—as in other instances,—only shewing that the general sense implies a plurality.

[4] Syr. lit. *The sight, view.* ܚܙܘܬ ܦܘ, alluding perhaps, to the blindness so often said, in the scriptures, to attach itself to the heathen.

is constrained by the prevailing power of THE ONE WORD the King of all, has been taught to undo through Him, the whole race of the accusers of men, and (so) to abolish and expel, both from souls and bodies, these (causes of) injuries.

71. Nor will he as formerly, again pollute himself with libations, fumes, blood, and sacrifices[5]; nor yet with the sacrifices of irrational animals: much less will he delight himself with the slaughter of men, and with human sacrifices. He has been taught, that God stands in need of nothing.—Nor will he delight in bodily matter, nor in the fumes of earthly sacrifices; but only in the enlightened mind, in purity of soul, and in holiness of life; in the sacrifices also which are without smoke and blood: those which are in the words of the mysteries: those (I say) which the Saviour of all has appointed to be delivered throughout the whole creation of man, for a *remembrance of Himself*[6].

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[5] Syr. ܠܐ ܒܕܡܐ ܘܒܩܪܒܢ̈ܐ, lit. *nor with blood, and with sacrifices.*

[6] As this place is extremely important on the question of the Eucharist, I shall give the Syriac, which runs thus: ܘܩܪܒܢ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ̇ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ ܠܝ ܒܡ̈ܠܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܠܐ ܒܠܒܐ ܕܢ̈ܩܝ ܘܒܢ̈ܦ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܢ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܗ̇ܠܝܢ ܕܒ̈ܥ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܠܝ ܒ̈ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܪ̈ܙ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܣ̈ܬ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܠܝ ܒ̈ܡ̈ܠ

72. Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to "*mortify his members that are on the earth*[1]," dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

73. Nor again will he,—who has subscribed to the only *One* who is above all, the life-giving WORD OF God, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of Death,—be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God.

74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give in

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descended from heaven, when we think him to be the son of Joseph? and, How can this man give his body?—Good Dr Wiseman however, the indefatigable propugner of the Roman Catholic doctrines, has no doubt, that the Jews *were right* in giving the interpretation which this Father reprobates! and also, that Bar Salibi was an upholder of his own opinions! (See my Sermon, pp. 89, 100, 135—6.) Eusebius himself has, moreover, given his view of the nature of the Eucharist, in his Demonstratio Evangelica, (Lib. I. x. 39. A.) in the following words: speaking of the XL. Psalm, he says, "*ὡς ἂν μέγα μυστήριον ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου τῇ προφητικῇ φωνῇ προαναπεφωνημένον. τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων, τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες,*" κ. τ. λ. Much the same is said a little higher up (ib. p. 37.) on Is. LIII. Again, (ib. p. 39,) he terms these sacrifices, "*τὰς ἀσωμάτους, καὶ νοερὰς θυσίας.*" See the rest of this Book to the end, where he admirably shews, that it was this sort of sacrifice which was constantly foretold under the Old Testament. So also Origen contra Cels. Lib. VIII. p. 416, "*ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος.*" But the most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in Theodoret. Dialog. II. "Inconfusus." Tom. IV. p. 85. B. "*οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι, καὶ ἅπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν.*" κ. τ. λ. "Neque enim symbola mystica post sanctificationem recedunt *à sua natura*. Manent *enim in priore substantia*, et figura, et forma, et videri tangique possunt, sicut et prius." See my Visitation Sermon, notes, p. 155, and the opinions of the Syrian Fathers, ib. p. 136. seq.

[1] Col. iii. 5. Differing slightly from the Peschito.

to those who dare to contend with God; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Grecks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. [2]Hence it is, that this rational race of man,—since it has been its lot to reside on the earth,—this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached: "*All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations: because the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is Governour over the Gentiles*[3]."

76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations.

77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving Word of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth,—together

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[2] The Syriac is obscure here. I trust however, I have succeeded in giving its meaning.

[3] Ps. xxii. 27, 28. Differing from the Peschito only in the addition of ܐܠܗܗܘܢ, *their God.* Cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. II. cap. i. v. p. 46. Where our author has, and in the following Book, collected a very large number of Prophecies on the coming of our Lord.

with those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as also the rational souls of the just,—do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons[1].

79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many, languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of all:—one enouncement, the same Law, and one mystery[2], suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him The Saviour. And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will

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[1] That is, on the same stated days and at the same hours of prayer.

[2] Syr. ܪܙܐ, i.e. Sacrament of the Eucharist.

again soon be made—although it might be imagined as to speech,—between the Barbarian and the Greek[3]; nor, that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the Barbarian; for with God "*there is neither Barbarian nor Greek*[4]." For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise man. And now Egyptians, Syrians, Scythians, Italians, Moors[5], Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have bebecome wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death; by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which had (hitherto) been so fearful to all men, was nothing. The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He established by open view to their very eyes; so that they should even see it; and made this His Image (body), by its resurrection, the commencement of our hope,—of the imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being immortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels.

80. The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, are these. If however, any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this respect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the examination of the things which have been written respecting Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings

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[3] Allied to this, Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. i. near the beginning.

[4] Col. iii. 11.

[5] The Syr. has ܡܘܪܝܐ. One would expect rather to find Medians (ܡܕܝܐ) here. Still, the reading might be correct, as the Μαῦροι were an ancient people inhabiting a part of Colchis. See Bochart, Phaleg. Lib. IV. cap. xxxi. p. 325.

of His Disciples,—which he previously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him,—in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements, this as the last (and greatest).

The End of the Third Book (*of* Eusebius) *of Cæsarea.*

BOOK IV.

THE FOURTH BOOK (OF EUSEBIUS) OF CÆSAREA.

1. It is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him,—which (consist) in the *power* of His words,—there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek, —as the case may be,—or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant; so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which THE WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension;—also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted;—and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times;—as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the ful-

filment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power;—there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For, the miracles which were performed by Him may be divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it was in their power openly to view; but to us, these were unseen; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times,—in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts,—could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible. It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment,—although not witnessing the results of the predictions,—did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass?—So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day.—Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand.

2. A certain man, illustrious from (his) service to the rule and power of the Romans, was in a state of suspense, because his favourite boy[1] had become paralytic in his limbs, and was laid (up) in his house; who, when he saw that our Saviour shewed forth such powers upon others,—healing the sick, and curing every pain and infirmity,—he perceived in his own mind, that this miracle was not of man. He approached Him accordingly as God;—not looking to the vessel of the Body which was visible, and by means of which He carried on His discourses with men, but to that God who was unseen; to Him, who by means of a mortal being, made known these His excellent doings;—he fell down and worshipped Him, praying and striving[2] (with Him), that He would afford to him for his boy the aid which is from God. And, when our Saviour said to him, "*I will come and heal him*," the Chiliarch[3] answered Him,—for he had been considered worthy of this rule among the Romans;—and said to him, "*Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but, speak the word only, and the child shall be healed. For, I am a man in authority, and there are soldiers under my hands; and I say to this, Go; and he goeth: and, to another, Come; and he cometh: and, to my servant I say, Do such a thing: and he doeth it.*" Hear therefore what our Saviour did upon this request, not from me, but from the Writer himself,—teaching (us) thus—in the very words: "*But, when Jesus heard it, He wondered, and said to those who*

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[1] Syr. ܛܠܝܐ, lit. *his child:* but, as this is probably a translation of the Greek παῖς, which signifies *boy,* and thence either *child* or *servant-boy,* I have thought it best to render it by the English, *boy,* which is equally indefinite with the Greek.

[2] Alluding, perhaps, to Gen. xxxii. 25—28, comp. with Hos. xii. 4.

[3] This and the following recital are taken, in the main, from Matt. viii. 5. seq. with the addition of "*beloved,*" (Syr. ܚܒܝܒܐ) from the parallel passage in Luke vii. 2. It differs considerably from the Peschito, and is probably the rendering of our Syriac Translator, with the words of the Peschito, however, in his memory. The greatest variety consists in this, that our text has here, *Chiliarch* (Syr. ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܦ) *Captain of a thousand,* instead of *Centurion* of the Greek and Syriac Scriptures. I have accordingly given *Chiliarch* in my translation. This reading is certainly extraordinary.

followed Him, Not even in Israel have I found such faith as this. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go out into outer darkness." And, after these words, He thus spoke to the Chiliarch: "*Go: as thou hast believed, shall it be unto thee. And his boy was healed from that hour.*" And, when the Chiliarch returned to his house, in that very hour he found his boy well.

3. With so much power therefore, did the word of our Saviour go forth, and shewed so much virtue, and so replete was it with power and with so much mercy, and with such ease were the good aids (it afforded given), that He readily promised He would come. And such indeed was the miracle which accompanied the act, that it is impossible to conceive of it as we ought. For this, that He said to the Chiliarch no more than, "*As thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee,*" and, with the word, gave health to his son[1], How effectually does it shew, that it was God who spoke in mortal voice! But, should any one be persuaded of this with difficulty, on account of the greatness of the miracle; still, such cannot fairly be excused as to His prediction, in which a powerful argument will be afforded in favour of the deed, if any one will consider that at this period, the Roman who drew near to our Saviour, was ONE (only), namely, the Chiliarch, who made a greater and better profession of Him, than (did the whole) Jewish people; and, that our Saviour prophesied that instead of ONE, those, who should like this man draw near to Him, should be MANY; and, that these should be of those residing in the East, and in the West[2]:—those (I say), who, by means of the

[1] From this it should seem that ܒܪܗ, ought to be understood in the sense of own *his child.*

[2] I have not thought it necessary here to follow the verbiage of the Syriac, which gives, ܡܢ ܕܡܕܡܢ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܡܥܪܒܐ ܕܡܕܡܢ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܡܥܪܒܐ. *Of those who reside at the risings of the day, and in quarters of the East, and at the settings of the Sun.* I add this merely for the sake of the Student of the Syriac.

knowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers:—even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the ONE GOD who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added,—and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction,—that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him,—as if cut off from the light of knowledge,—go forth into outer darkness: and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire disseverance from the light of salvation[3]. Thus He predicted.—It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations,—a thing unlawful with them,—wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with

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[3] Syr. ܢܗܘܪܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ, which, perhaps, ought to be, ܢܗܘܪܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ, lit. *the light of the Saviour:* but, if ܕܝܠܗ be an adjective, then *saving light* will be the meaning. Without further authority however, this point must remain undetermined:—which will not affect the general reader.

rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have rased their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations, drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governours bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more honourable and exalted than these,—those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments,—have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these:—

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul [1], in the countries of the

[1] Syr. ܣܦܪܕ ܘܓܠܠ, lit. *Spaniards and Gauls.*

Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain[2], men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God:—If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was) that declared and said, "*Many*[3] *shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.*" These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch: and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: "*When*[4] *ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.*" Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples,—that it was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations—which are to this effect: "*When*[5] *Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea:—for they were fishers.—He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them; and they, in the same hour, left the ship and*

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[2] It is commonly assumed by the Roman Catholics, that Christianity was unknown in Britain until Austin the Monk introduced it at the command of Gregory the Great. With how much truth this is done the reader will see, when he finds that the Fathers generally asserted the contrary. See the "Lux Evangelica" of Fabricius, and Stillingfleet's "Origines Ecclesiæ Britannicæ."

[3] Matt. viii. 11. [4] Luke xiii. 28, 29. [5] Matt. iv. 18.

their Father, and followed Him." Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: "*When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus,*" He (this writer) has said, that "*He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon's; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to the multitude.*" But, after the teaching which was sufficient,—because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on,—He[1] commanded Simon to "*cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing; nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net.*" And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking,—because they were heavy with the many (fishes),—and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, insomuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him[2]. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what

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[1] As an extract from the Greek original of this place has been preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna (Lambecii xlii. Nesselii lxxi.) and which has been kindly communicated to me by its learned Librarian Dr Kopitar, through the intervention of the Right Honourable Lord Napier, I shall here give it. I give Dr Kopitar's whole transcript. "Exscriptum e Codice Theol. græco. Vindob. fol. 246. v. ad Luc. v. 6. de reti rupto: Εὐσεβίου εὐαγγελικ̃ θεοφά.·.—rubro colore. Παρακελεύεται μὲν τῶ̃ πέτρω ὁ κς. χαλάσαι εἰς ἄγραν τὰ δίκτυα. ὁ δὲ τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποίει· ὡς δὲ συνέκλεισαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολύ. καὶ διερρήγνυντο τὰ δίκτυα τῶ̃ πλήθει βαρούμενα, προσκαλοῦνται μὲν εἰς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῶ̃ γειτνιῶντϊ πλοίω. εἶτ' ἀνελκύσαντες τοὺς ἰχθύας, πληροῦσιν ἄμφω τὰ σκάφη. ὡς κϊνδυνεύειν αὐτὰ βυδϊσθῆναι· ἐφ' οἷς ὁ πέτρος ἀποθαυμάσας ἐξεπλάγη. ἀνάξιόν τε ἑαυτὸν τῆς σριοῦ (?) ἐπιβάσεως ὡμολόγει:—seq. rub. γρή θεολογ.·." Another extract, with which I was favoured through the same channnel, will be found in Book v. sect. 38.

[2] The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. extract extends to this place.

was about to take place, He also gave its explanation (thus); "*and Jesus said to him, Fear not; Thou shalt henceforth be a fisher of men unto life.*" It was to Galileans,—men unacquainted with any thing beyond the Syriac language, and this mean profession and necessity of fishing, by which they were driven,—that our Saviour well promised, that He would "*make them fishers of men*," and preachers of His doctrine. And, He made them (such). Nor did He belie His promise; but He shewed forth the "POWER OF GOD," the Doer of a thing, which eclipsed every human excellence! For, had He brought near to Him the Intellectual and the Wise, the Rich, and Illustrious, among the Jews; and had made use of these (as) the Teachers of His words; it would indeed have been likely, that men would have supposed this matter to have been brought about by human means only. For thus are most men usually overcome; (namely), they are either wrought upon[3] by the gifts of the rich, or, they are led astray by excellency of speech, or, by the phantasms of science: or, they fear the power of illustrious personages. But He made use of no such disciples as these: on the contrary, by the poor, the despised;—by men ignorant as to speech, Syrians in language, and in their character humble and mean,—did He openly manifest His work (of redemption). It was the Divine Power alone, which He made use of;—that which He evinced when He previously called them, and made them go forth; and so promised that He would make them both "*Fishers*[4] *of men*," and *Preachers;* that, instead of the nets which they then had, they should receive from Him the net, which should comprehend in its texture, an aggregate of the declarations of both the Law and the Prophets, as well as of those comprehended in (all) the Divine teaching. This they should cast into the sea of mankind as existing in the world, and inclose (therein) as many as they could; filling these their rational nets

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[3] Syr. ܡܬܠܗܡܢ, a reduplicated form of ܠܗܡ, which Castell gives under this root, in ܡܠܗܡ, *incitavit, persuasit,* &c.

[4] The Syr. has here ܕܢܢܣܒܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ, for ܐܝܟ, &c. no doubt: the diacritical point of the Dolath being occasionally omitted.

with every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass; and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind,—congregations innumerable,—by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would MAKE *them Fishers of men.* Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge.—He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed:—that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day,—not by their art, but by trusting in his word,—to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon. But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, *Let not these things alarm thee: they are* (*but as*) *recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are fish unendued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of* (*earthly*) *material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the representations: for shortly afterwards,—that is, immediately, now, and forthwith,—thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life* (*eternal*). *This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shalt become a*

fisherman of reasonable creatures, in place of these which are irrational. Nor shalt thou again draw up those whom thou shalt catch from the depths of the sea, but from the bitterness of the life that is hateful; from the chambers of ungodly darkness and from sin, into the light which is intellectual; and to the elevation of purity. That is, *thou shalt catch them for life, by means of that which is of life: it is not death that thou preparest for them. These first indeed, which are drawn up out of the sea, and which formerly enjoyed life in darkness and the deep, perish immediately on their ascending and receiving the light. But, those who shall be caught by thee from among men, shall be caught up out of the darkness of ignorance, and shall be changed to the life that is of God.* These things therefore, (namely,) "*Thou shalt henceforth catch men unto life*," our Saviour foretold by the Divine power: and the same, our Saviour shewed by very deed, were sure and true. This Syrian fisherman therefore, this net-caster,—did by means of his net,—the texture of which was by the Divine power composed of the words of mystery,—catch innumerable multitudes of men. And, "The visual perception of something hidden, is something visible[1]." The things therefore, which the long life of the world,—and which from the first experienced not the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour,—could not effect:—the things which neither Moses who gave the law to the Hebrews, nor the Prophets who came after Moses, could; nor yet the multitudes of others, who from ancient times carried as fishermen the doctrine of God to man, and who toiled throughout the whole night which preceded his manifestation,—could do, this Galilean, this Pauper, this Barbarian, this Simon did, by means of his voice bring to pass. The demonstrations indeed, then given of Simon as to these things, are the Churches which up to this time have arisen, far more in number than the ships (then present), and these, filled with fish that are rational. Such is this of Cæsarea of Palestine[2], and such is that of Antioch of Syria; and such is that of Rome; for, by

[1] This is given above as a principle.

[2] Our author here speaks as an inhabitant of Cæsarea.

these Churches—which Simon set up, and by all those near them,—are these things commemorated. Those too that are in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoining, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of our Saviour's Disciples, on those whom He said *He would make Fishers of men*;—and this his word He has shewn forth by deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused, that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man,—His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational fish, Barbarian and Greek; and that He should draw up from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness, the souls of men; turning these daily and hourly to the light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own eyes, establish,—as it appears to me,—beyond (all) doubt, the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world? Hear this also, for it is after this manner: "*Ye*[1] *are the light of the world:*" and, "*A city that is built on a hill cannot be hidden:*" "*nor do men light a candle, and place it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.*" Here again, these very fishermen, who went forth from Galilee,—a corner[2] of Judea so called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah,—one of the Prophets,—making known at once its obscurity, and at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, which he announced should take place there,—proclaimed (saying), "*Galilee*[3] *of the Gentiles, a people sitting in*

[1] Matt. v. 14—16.

[2] Syr. ܓܠܝܠܐ. Castell (Edit. Michaelis,) gives ܓܠܝܠܐ *angulus:* while the examples have ܓܠܝܠܐ.

[3] Is. ix. 1, 2.

darkness have seen a great light:"—those (I say) who went forth from thence; men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances;—those very fishermen He said, should be the light of the world; and this promise He confirmed by deed; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee,—should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God; and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West: and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, "*Ye are the light of the world?*" So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also,—who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise,—arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men!—which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men. The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation,—like the exhibition of a banner of victory,—is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enouncement of our

Saviour, "*Is like to a city placed upon a hill?*" And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world! And this, (viz.) "*Let your light so shine before men*," evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here), the light when He said, "YE *are the light of the world.*" Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality[1] of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, "I AM[2] *the light of the world.*" And of Him it has been truly said, that "*He*[3] *is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man.*" But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: "*That*[4] *which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.*" He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples,—when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark,—the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all

[1] If it should be imagined, that Eusebius intended above to assign any preëminence to Peter in the work of evangelizing the world, this place would be sufficient to correct any such notion. Peter was, as the primary Apostle of the Gentiles, very highly honoured: it was Paul nevertheless, who, after his conversion, became the most abundant labourer of them all.

[2] John viii. 12, &c. [3] Ib. i. 9. [4] Matt. x. 27, 28.

their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,—

In that He foretold at the outset[5] *to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations.* From the Gospel of Matthew[6].

8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them,—being together as they had been commanded,—went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke with them, and said: "*All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world.*" Observe now, in these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz.) that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His

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[5] The Syriac reads here, ܠܡܘܕܥ, which, I am inclined to think, should be, ܠܡܘܥܕ, *by promise:* still that gives a very suitable sense.

[6] Matt. xxviii. 18, to the end. The differences from the Peschito are slight, and such as to shew, as before, that the Translator having the words of the Peschito in his mind, rather translated afresh than followed it literally.—All these headings following are, in the MS. given as Rubrics.

Resurrection; because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, "*Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth*[1]." Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples; "*All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth.*" For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity[2]; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz.) "*Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession.* For, from ancient times,—as Moses attests,—"*The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels*[3]."

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[1] Ps. ii. 8. Cited also, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 162. D.

[2] I do not see how this could come out of the mouth of an Arian.

[3] The place here referred to is Deut. xxxii. 8, as given in the Version of the Septuagint: where we have, "κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ." Out of this seems to have originated the notion of Angels presiding over the several regions of the Earth: and, thence, among the heathen, of *Demons* doing this: a notion prevailing far and wide in the East at this very day. The Hebrew has here, "*Children of Israel;*" whence the notion among the Jews, that there were 72 nations on the earth, and as many languages; because this was the number supposed to have gone down with Jacob into Egypt. The whole however, is a gross mistake, which has arisen out of a false interpretation of the Hebrew term מִסְפָּר, signifying *enumeration*, as well as *number*. The sense of the place will then be, *according to the enumeration, (account* or *statement) of the children of Israel:* i. e. as found in their Scriptures. This Scripture is also quoted, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vii; but the reasoning differs. See also ib. cap. x. p. 163. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 250, &c. An extract is given from the *Theophania*, in the "Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio," Tom. viii. p. 91, by Signior Angelo Mai in these words: "Εὐσεβίου β τῆς θεοφανείας." "Ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ ἀνεδείκνυ μαθητὰς, ὁπόσα λέγεται καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνη τυγχάνειν· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Μωσέως δηλοῖ γραφὴ τὸν κατάλογον ποιουμένη τῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τοῦ Νωε γενομένων παίδων· ἐξ ὧν τοὺς πάντας ἑβδομήκοντα φῦναι οὓς προπάτορας τῶν καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐθνῶν λόγος ἀληθὴς γεγονέναι κατέχει." If this extract belongs to any part of this work, it must, I suppose, be to this; as I know of no other place at all like it. From the letter β being attached to the extract, one

So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples,—not from ancient times—but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing[4]. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness; because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach,—after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine,—not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these

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would imagine that the *second* Book was meant; but certainly, our second Book contains no such matter. All I can see in it, I must confess, is, that the writer of the Codex mentioned by Signior Mai only intended to give a sort of Comment on this place of the Theophania, and one which seems to have come originally from the Jews: it being much of a piece with the traditionary nonsense entertained by that people, but quite foreign to the manner of Eusebius, who never indulges in cabbalistic reasoning of this sort. Nor is the Signior (now Cardinal) correct when he says:—"*Theophania*, seu publica Christi vita, (Luc. cap. 3)": neither the term, nor the contents of the work, nor the Scripture cited, justifying such an assertion. Nor does the word ἀνεφάνη, referred to, even hint at the existence of this work. All the passage in the Chronicon intends evidently is, that our Lord *appeared* (ἀνεφάνη) in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. The Cardinal tells us moreover, that he has discovered xviii. other fragments of this work, which he has printed in the second edition of his first volume. But this edition I have not yet been able to find in this country; I can say nothing therefore about these extracts.

[4] Syr. ܡܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, by which he means *Baptism*.

are those which the whole of the Disciples,—making severally the circuit of all the nations,—equally delivered to every Church throughout the whole creation. He necessarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to confide,—to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which He counselled them, saying: "*Behold, I myself am with you.*" To this word of promise, He also superadded the performance. He was present in the Divine Power with each and every one of them; to the whole of them was He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought. He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constituting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of God[1] which was delivered by Himself. In this promise therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; but they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining of all nations, that they engaged in the work. With their eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead, then living: and, Him whom they had denied with cursing[2],—on account of what then happened to them,—they had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appearing (to them); which (appearing) they had investigated. Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained; on account of which, they might indeed have sought to be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could be Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyptians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous nations: and set about to legislate,—in opposition to all other Legislators and Kings throughout the whole crea-

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[1] A very common term, used to designate the true religion: it is also frequently used in the Hebrew Bible in this sense.

[2] Alluding to the denial of Peter. Matt. xxvi. 74.

tion,—that which was opposed to the things delivered to them from all ages, respecting the Gods of their Forefathers. But it was not possible for them to think such things, who had heard the voice of God saying to them, "*Behold, I myself am with you always.*" They had too, openly viewed the Godhead of Him who spoke with them. It had been seen to be superior to Death: respecting which however they had entertained fear. On the contrary they (now) hear, that henceforth they shall, with all their soul, undergo afflictions. They had now taken up from their Master, the certainty of life after death; they went out therefore, with confidence to make the circuit of all nations, that they might confirm by fact, the promises of Him their Lord. But He attached to the promises made to them, a more excellent word; and,—what exceeds all wonder,—this He shews forth even to this present time; (viz.) "*Behold, I myself am with you always.*" He added also, "*even to the end of the world.*" And this applies, not only to them, but also to all those who came after them, and from them received His doctrine; and, thenceforward, even to this time, is He present to all those who have become His Disciples. Hence, His Church, which is kept by Himself, is daily increasing and multiplying to myriads; and by His Power shall it be congregated, even to the end of the world!

On the conversion of all nations to God. From the Gospel of Luke.

9. Again, upon another occasion after His resurrection from the dead, He appeared to the other disciples, and to them,—yet doubting and not believing in Him,—He put forth and said these words: "[3]*These are the words which I said to you, when I was yet with you; that it is necessary every thing should be fulfilled which is written respecting me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms. Then He opened their understandings that they should understand the Scriptures: and He said, Thus it was right that Christ should suffer, and that He should rise from the dead on the third day; and (that) repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning from Jeru-*

[3] Luke xxiv. 44. seq.

salem. And ye are the witnesses of these things." On one occasion indeed, He said, that "*in His name should be preached repentance to all nations.*" (Now), if *the Deed* did not follow upon *the Word;* neither can His resurrection from the dead be credited. But if, even up to this time, the things which His prediction foretold, remain in fact, so that His lively, (energetic) and operative word is visible (in effect) throughout the whole creation to our eyes; then is it unbecoming we should disbelieve Him who spoke this. For He, whose power is living (energetic,) operative, and visible to the eyes, powerfully impels us first of all to confess thereupon, that He is living; and that He brings to effect the living things of God, whose living (actual) deeds are seen fulfilling His words. These His words then, —being varied and translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and the Barbarians,—has He made intelligible to all[1], so that His doctrine is heard by all nations, and has stirred up myriads of congregations of those, who were formerly wickedly led on in the error of many Gods, in the worship of Idols, and in (the course of life) which was unbecoming, to conversion and repentance. He did not command them first to preach remission of sins, and then repentance; but first, repentance, and then remission. For it was to those, who evinced a sincere[2] repentance of former sins, that our Saviour's grace gave the pardon of their deeds;—on whose account indeed He suffered Death, and gave His soul a ransom for the souls of those, who should be saved through Him. Thus therefore, these His disciples,—men rude of speech and altogether illiterate, poor and needy, (as) they were in their character,—trusted in the power of Him who appeared to them after Death, and openly held converse with them. And they began from Jerusalem according to His commands, and went forth into all nations; the things too, which they were commanded, they performed, and preached repentance to all men, and

[1] The phraseology of the Syriac deserves notice here. It runs thus, literally, *In the whole hearing* (i. e. understanding) *therefore of all the nations has He made these His words; being varied and translated*, &c. The term ܟܠܗ̈ܝܢ ܠܫܢ̈ܝ̈ܢ is used here, and signifies, as it does also above, Book III. sect. 39, the understanding of languages.

[2] Syr. ܕܟܝ̈ܐ *pure:* here in the Latin sense *sincera* (sine cera).

remission of the former sins of the soul. And such was the entire superiority which they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man.

How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world. From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark.

10. When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem;—having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there;—a certain woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her; complaining of what had happened. But He received the thing done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: "*I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall*[3] *be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her*[4]." Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enouncement in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial of her:—which same thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the

[3] Syr. ܒܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ.

[4] Matt. xxvi. 13, &c. cited by Theodoret. Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 448. Chrysost. Hom. Matt. 81. Edit. Montf. Tom. VII. p. 765.

whole world.—Of the things therefore, respecting this[1] (Gospel,) and respecting His Church, hear (now) how He made His promises:—

How He mentioned His church by name, when yet it had no existence: and how He declared, that the gates of Hell should never prevail against it. From the Gospel of Matthew.

11. When asking His Disciples on a certain occasion, what men said of Him, and they answering according to the opinion of the many, He asked them the second time, "*But*[2] *what say ye?*" and, when Simon had said unto Him, "*Thou art the Christ of the living God,*" He answered him, and said: "*Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood hath not revealed* (*this*) *to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, Thou art Cephas: and upon this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*" The (term) "*this*" He took (as implying) *the knowledge,* that *He was the Messiah,* the Son of the living God; and *Cephas* (the rock), because it should neither *be rent* nor *moved.* It is not unlikely, that He named (in) "THIS"

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[1] The term *this* (Syr. ܗܕܐ) may, indeed, here refer to *the* woman just named: I am disposed rather to think that it refers to *this* gospel, or doctrine, termed ܣܗܕܘܬܐ above.

[2] Matt. xvi. 15. seq. As this passage is important, I give the Syriac of it here, which stands thus: ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ . ܥܢܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܪܟ ܐܢܬ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܕܒܣܪ ܘܕܡܐ ܠܐ ܓܠܐ ܠܟ ܗܕܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܒܝ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ . ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܝ ܘܬܪܥ̈ܐ ܕܓܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛܘܢ ܒܗ . ܘܐܬܠ ܠܟ ܐܢܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ . ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܝ ܘܬܪܥ̈ܐ ܕܓܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛܘܢ ܒܗ. It will be observed, that ܬܪܥ̈ܐ ܕܓܗܢܐ, *gate-bars* of hell, is given here, where the Peschito has ܬܪܥ̈ܐ ܕܓܗܢܐ, *gates of hell.* We have too ܒܒܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܫܝܠ, instead of ܒܒܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܫܝܠ of the Peschito. We have too, ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ, instead of ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ. No other variety exists. Justin Martyr takes this passage in the same way: (Dialog. cum Tryphone. p. 255. 48. Ed. Sylburg,) viz. "*καὶ γὰρ υἱὸν Θεοῦ Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐπιγνόντα*

the whole sense comprised here. On this account too, He designated that same Disciple, who had formerly been called Simon, *Cephas* (Peter), with reference to *this knowledge;* (and) of which He afterwards prophesied, and said: "*On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*" He foretold at once something to come to pass, and promised, that Himself would build it (the Church), and bring the work to completion, by the things of this *knowledge* which had now been

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αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα πρότερον καλούμενον, ἐπωνόμασε Πέτρον." "Atque ex discipulis suis unum CHRISTUS, Simonem prius nominatum, Petrum appellavit: quod se per Patris sui cœlestis revelationem, Filium Dei esse cognoverit." Euthymius gives the sense thus: Thou art Peter, as about to be a rock of the faith, after the denial (of Christ); or, as already being *firm in mind:* thence, *upon this firmness* I will build my Church, or, I will lay thee (as) a foundation of the Believers. For the Church are the Believers, &c. "Σὺ εἶ πέτρος, ὡς μέλλων γενέσθαι πέτρα πίστεως, μετὰ τὴν ἄρνησιν, ἢ ὡς ἤδη στερρὸς ὢν τῷ φρονήματι· καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ στερρότητι οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἤγουν, σε θήσω θεμέλιον τῶν πιστευόντων. ἐκκλησία γὰρ, οἱ πιστοί." κ. τ. λ. See Hammond's admirable note on this place. It is also thus given in the Syriac, (in this MS.) in the work of Titus Bishop of Bozrah on the Manicheans, near the end. ܘܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟܝܦܐ ... ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܝ ... ܘܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܣܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ... ܘܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟܝܦܐ ... ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܝ ... ܘܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܣܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ... That is: "*On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*" 'He calls every thing therefore *gate-bars,* by means of which those, who should take upon themselves a complete readiness to encounter the death of martyrdom, for the sake of the fear of God...And, after a few other things, when Simon said to Him,' "*Thou art the Christ,*" 'He returned the answer,' "*Upon this rock do I build my Church.*"—'Upon what? Upon this faith, that' "*Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God.*"—He goes on to say, not as the mad Manes affirms of Him, that the Messiah is the five elements.—He might have added,—and probably would, had the thing existed in his days,—nor as the arrogant Papists do, that by "Cephas" (Peter), is here meant the Popes of Rome.

given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation; and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enouncement of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed *Synagogues;* and, during the time of His going about among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, *Synagogues*, but *Churches?* He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them:—things, which we perceive with our own eyes! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, "*I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it:*" which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it! For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise! —He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man!

On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

12. [1] *Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth: I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father,*

[1] Matt. x. 34. seq.

and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law: and the enemies of a man (*shall be*) *those of his own house.* (Or), as Luke enounced (it); "[2] *Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth? I say unto you, No; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who* (*shall be*) *divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law.*" And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledge of our Saviour? For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men:—things which hitherto have not existed, nor did they at the period in which He enounced these words. Nor, were there yet any such doings; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God? And again in these things also,—"*For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,*"—we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these! But it was our Saviour alone, and this Word of God, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed! The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to

[2] Luke xii. 51. seq.

pass in houses He Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language[1], in which it is said: "*I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father, who is in heaven, has given to me.*" And, one may learn from this, how in every house in which the word of Jesus should prevail, the excellent would be distinguished from the vile. For, if a man make a comparison among brothers, or servants, or in families generally, as to the customs, forms, manner of life, and the purity and meekness of those, who have chosen the doctrine of our Saviour;—for this is

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[1] Eusebius has, in his Eccl. Hist. occasionally mentioned this Gospel: e.g. as apocryphal, Lib. III. cap. xxv. "ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι." "Sed et in eundem ordinem (i.e. apocr.) jam à quibusdam relatum est Evangelium secundum Hebræos, quo maximè delectantur Hebræi illi qui Christi fidem susceperunt." Again, as retained by the Ebionites and their followers, ib. cap. xxvii. And again, as spoken of by Papias, and said by him to have been written by Matthew, and to have contained the history of the adulteress (John viii.) ib. cap. xxxix. And again, (Lib. IV. cap. xxii.) Hegesippus is said to have cited some things from the Gospel of the Hebrews, and also the Syriac one. This last however was, no doubt, one and the same with the Hebrew one, and so called because written in the Syro-Chaldaïc dialect in Hebrew letters. It was by Jerome translated, into both the Greek and Latin languages: a copy of the original being, in his days, preserved in the Library of Cæsarea, which had been formed by Pamphilus the Martyr and Friend of Eusebius. See Jerome on Isaiah, cap. xi. and Matt. xviii. And the note of Valesius, p. 47. See also Jones on the Canon of the New Testament, Vol. I. pt. 2. cap. xxv. seq.—As this passage of the Gospel (so called) of the Hebrews, does not appear to have been cited by any ecclesiastical or other writer, I have thought it right to give it as it stands in the Syriac. "ܐܝܟ ܕܟ ܕܢܝ ܗܘܝ ܒܥܝ ܠܝ ܐܒܝ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ." It may be remarked, that Eusebius does here cite this passage as worthy of credit, although he does not ascribe any divine authority directly to it. Mr Jones has, in his very excellent work on the Canon of the New Testament, affirmed that Eusebius had never so cited this Gospel—which, indeed, had not appeared in the then known works of Eusebius. Still, this cannot be adduced, as in any way affecting the character of our acknowledged Gospels. I am very much disposed to think with Grotius, &c. that this was the original Gospel of St. Matthew, greatly interpolated by the heretical Jews who had received it. See Jones, l.c.

what is meant by *those who have been selected by Him*:—and, of those who have not yet become worthy of Him;—he will perceive what sort of power that is, of which He has made use; and, that He did not only foretel what should come to pass, but that He has, according to the prediction, also brought the works to pass: and, with other things, these also in which it is written that He said, "*I will select to myself the*[2] *very excellent, those whom my Father who is in heaven has given to me.*" Nevertheless, (what He) now (said), "*I am not come to send forth peace on earth,*" with other things, He explained to the Disciples themselves and said; "*I leave peace with you, my own peace give I unto you: it is not as the world giveth peace, that I also so give peace.*" It was the knowledge and love of God, which He had prepared for His disciples; and this, that the soul should not be perturbed. And in this way, He named the light, and confirmation of the mind. These things therefore He foretold, and also respecting these (men): but, of those which He foreknew and foretold respecting the Jewish People, (the time) is at hand that we should enquire.

On the things which He prophesied against the Jewish people in parables. From the Gospel of Matthew.

13. When the Rulers of the Jewish people, the chief Priests, and the Doctors of the Law, were assembled together in Jerusalem, and He was in the Temple; He foretold covertly and by parable, the things they were about to dare against Him, and the destruction which should overtake them on account of this daring, in this manner: "*There was*[3] *a certain master of a house,* (who) *planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a fence, and digged a wine-press therein, and built in it a tower, and delivered it to husbandmen, and departed. And, when the fruit-season drew*

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[2] The passage differs here from the citation above, in the omission of ܗܠܝܢ, *these things;* which might have been omitted as unnecessary to the argument.

[3] Matt. xxi. 33. seq. This subject is prosecuted much at length on the predictions given from the Old Testament, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. II. cap. iii. seq.

near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen seized his servants, and some of them they smote, and some they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent other servants, more than the former; and to these, they did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves: This is his heir; come let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen? They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus himself said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, 'The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is a miracle in our eyes?' Wherefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people which shall render the fruits" (thereof.) And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Prophet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: "*My beloved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce grapes; but it produced wild grapes*[1]." But this that is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus interprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says, "*For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house that is in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and for righteousness, but behold, howling!*"

14. The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet

[1] Syr. ܒܘܫ̈ܐ. Castell, "*ceratium, faba græca, siliqua.*" Is. v. 1. seq.

had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their foundations; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last[2]; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, "*Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life*[3]." Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets' blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, *the Son of God!* Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold,—by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz.) these things when walking in the Temple,—to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves: asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, "*What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen?*"

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[2] The MS. reads ܐܣܬܪܐ here, a manifest error, for ܐܣܬܪܡ. I have made this correction in the printed text accordingly.

[3] 1 Kings xix. 10—14. Rom. xi. 3.

And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against themselves, saying, "*He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*" Jesus then said to them: "[1] *Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner* (stone) *of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?*" Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward: "*The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner* (*stone*) *of the building:*" which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For,—after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, "[2] *Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner* (stone) *of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,*"—He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: "[3] *And this is a miracle in our eyes:*" by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, "*The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits*" (thereof): which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz.) "*from them;*" that He would "*give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*" For He named the "*kingdom of God,*" those observances in which the worship of God consisted; and these He declared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect;

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[1] Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10, 11. Luke xx. 17; comp. Acts iv. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 7.

[2] Is. xxviii. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 6.

[3] Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.

giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which does, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works.

On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church; and on the end of these. From the Gospel of Matthew.

15. After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the Divine Scripture states, that "[4] *When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet.*" "[5] *And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The kingdom of heaven is like to a* (certain) *man, a king, who made a* (marriage) *feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are slain, and every thing is prepared for you: Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village* (*farm*), *and Another to* (*his*) *merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew* (*them*). *And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find,* (both) *bad and good.*" Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Wine-press, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servants

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[4] Matt. xxi. 45. seq. with a few unimportant varieties from the Peschito: and the same may be said generally of all these quotations from Scripture.

[5] Matt. xxii. 1—10, with some unimportant varieties from the Peschito, as before.

sent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain: by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself!

16. Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Bridegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, THE WORD OF GOD; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church: and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, "[1] *Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel.*" These same persons therefore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel; those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the

[1] Matt. x. 5, 6.

call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judea. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John[2]. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne[3] of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called "*the Just*[4]." Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretel[5] before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz.) "*The king was enraged*," at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, "*and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city.*" And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted)? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that "*the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their*

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[2] "Ἀνῃρέθη δὲ μαχαίρᾳ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων." Sophronius, as cited by Fabricius, Salut. Lux Evang. p. 101, who shews that it was Herod Agrippa who put him to death, in the 44th year of Claudius. Acts xii. 2.

[3] The Syr. has ܘܠܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܝܘܫܒܗ ܒܗ ܕܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܝ. By (ܟܘܪܣܝ) "*throne*" is here necessarily meant the Episcopal chair of that Church: which agrees well with the judgment which James is said to have given, Acts xv. 19; and where Peter gives his opinion, not as a Judge, but as a mere individual concerned in the question at issue. See also Fabricii Salutaris Lux Evang. p. 47, &c.

[4] Hist. Eccl. Euseb. Lib. II. cap. xxiii.

[5] Syr. ܩܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ, where ܐܬܐ must have been omitted by mistake. I have therefore inserted it thus [ܐܬܐ] in brackets.

city?" To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may readily be found in the record of the Romans[1] by Flavius Josephus[2]. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they,—who remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, "*They who were first called were not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast*"—performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, "*Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name.*" And these things He said, who formerly had commanded: "*In the way of the Gentiles go ye not,*" but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, "*Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast.*" And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and "*they collected together as many as they could find,* (both) *bad and good.*" Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected[3]. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge: and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the

[1] So styled here perhaps, because written by Josephus after he had attached himself to the Romans, and had dedicated it to the Roman Emperor.

[2] His History of the Jewish Wars.

[3] Syr. ܒܗܘܢ, read ܒܗܘܢ.

parable, saying, "*And*[4] *the feast was filled with guests: but, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man who had not (on) wedding garments. And he said to him, My friend! how camest thou in hither not having put on wedding garments? And he was silent. Then the king said to the ministers: Bind him hands and feet, and cast him out into outer darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are the called, but few the chosen.*" He likewise previously rebuked, with these predictive words, those who should conduct themselves unrighteously in His Church.

Again, on the rejection of the Jewish people. From the Gospel of Matthew.

17. "*Ye*[5] *serpents, ye generation of vipers, How shall ye escape hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and Wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and shall persecute them from city to city; so that there shall come upon you, all the blood of the Righteous, which has been shed upon the land, from the blood of Abel, even to the blood of Zecharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the steps*[6] *and the altar. I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.*" There is no need we should affirm, that all these things are so plain, as to require no explanation whatever; which, being afterwards fulfilled in very deed, confirmed by (their) open fulfilment, the foreknowledge of our Saviour. For the Apostles were scourged by the Jews at a subsequent period, in Jerusalem itself; when also, they went forth from their synagogues, "*rejoicing*[7] *that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake*[8]." Stephen also was stoned by them; and James was slain with the sword[9]; and again, the second

[4] Matt. xxii. 10—14.

[5] Matt. xxiii. 33. seq. agreeing, with a few variations, with the Peschito.

[6] We have here ܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ, instead of ܡܕܒܚܐ of the Peschito.

[7] Acts v. 41.

[8] Syr. MS. ܕܙܟܘ ܒܫܡܗ, which is manifestly defective. I have supplied [ܕܐܬܟܢܝ] thus in brackets, after ܒܫܡܗ.

[9] See sect. 16, above, note.

James was put to death with stones[1]. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem[2], was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour. On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, "*Behold* I *send to you Prophets, and Wise men.*" For (this), "*Behold* I *send*," is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a "*generation of vipers*," affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and this their complete fulfilment proves[3]. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then,

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[1] James the Less, called the "Brother of the Lord" in the Scripture. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xxiii.

[2] According to some this was Simon Peter, others say that Simon the son of Cleopas was the person; and this is the account of Hegesippus, as preserved by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. whose words are: "καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος. ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον." "Postquam, inquit, Jacobus cognomento Justus martyrium perinde ac Dominus pertulit, ob ejusdem doctrinæ prædicationem; rursus frater patruelis Domini Symeon Cleopæ filius, episcopus constituitur: cunctis uno consensu secundum antistitem illum renuntiantibus, eo quod cognatus Domini esset."

[3] The meaning of our author is,—according to the principle formerly laid down,—that, as that prediction had been completely fulfilled, we can entertain no reasonable doubt as to other declarations then made.

now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them; of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested;—weeping bitterly as He did over them of his mercy,—that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him.

On the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, THE WORD OF GOD, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: "[4]*Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings: but ye would not. Behold! your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*" Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the city, but also the land itself,—in which they so greatly boasted,—should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive; and others they persecuted. The captive[5] (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utter deso-

[4] Matt. xxiii. 37. Luke xiii. 34.

[5] Syr. ܐܡܝܐ ܘܗܝܟܠܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ, lit. *and the captivity and Temple they burnt:* which must, I suppose, mean *the City.*

lation! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as THE WORD OF GOD, foretel should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, *the children of the City;* and the Temple, He styled *their House.* And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call;—on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet "the House of God," but theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was. Not at the time when it was rased to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, "*Behold your House is left desolate.*" Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold: (viz.) "*The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former*[1]." After the enouncement therefore of our Saviour,—that they should so be *left*, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation;—to

[1] Haggai ii. 9.

those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years,—which was that in the time of the Babylonians,—but even to surpass four times (its duration); and (thus) confirming the judgment pronounced by our Saviour. Again, on another occasion, our Saviour—walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple;—returned to them answer and said, "*Behold! see ye not all these things? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down.*" The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, "*one stone upon another which should not be rased.*" For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls,—as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description,—have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases: and, so has the power of THE WORD gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes[2]. And, should any

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[2] Imitated by Theodoret (Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.) in these words: "τοῦ νεὼ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ βάθρων κατάλυσιν οἱ μὲν τεθεαμένοι φιλαλήθως ὁμολογήσατε, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τοῖς διη-

one say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too—for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently,—that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place.—

On the taking of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

19. "*And*[1], *when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace.—But now, they are* (*so*) *hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee.*" The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He said, "*If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace:*" intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For

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διηγουμένοις πιστεύσατε· αὐτόπτης γάρ που κἀγὼ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐκείνης γεγένημαι." "Templi vero solitudinem, immo autem a fundamentis eversionem, qui e vobis eo profecti viderunt confiteantur: reliqui vero saltem narrantibus fidem habeant. Ego quidem hisce oculis vidi desertum templi locum."

[1] Luke xix. 41. seq.

this is He, of whom it was said, "*In his days shall righteousness arise* (as the sun), *and abundance of peace*[2]. He came also for this purpose, that "*He*[3] *might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off.*" And, of them who received Him, He said, "*Peace*[4] *I leave to you; my peace give I unto you:*" the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their peace: and, on this account, He said afterwards, "*It is now* (so) *hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee,* (*in which*) *thine enemies shall surround thee*[5]." The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city): (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them; He then plainly foretold these things by His foreknowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), "*The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace.*" For, for this cause "*there shall come upon thee the days,* (in which) *thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee*[6]." In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them. And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews;—one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled.

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[2] Ps. lxxii. 7. [3] Eph. ii. 17. [4] John xiv. 27.
[5] Luke xix. 42, 43. [6] Ib. ver. 44.

Again, on the reduction of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

20. "[1] *When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know ye that its desolation is near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains. And let those that are within it (Jerusalem) give up*[2]*: and let not those that are in its borders*[3]*, enter into it. Because these are the days of vengeance, that all which has been written should be fulfilled. But, woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled.*" Previous to this He said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" He now gives by the words before us, the signs of the times of the final destruction of the place; and these He shews, saying, "*When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, thence know ye that its desolation is near.*" Now, let no one imagine, that, after the reduction of the place, and the desolation that should be in it, another renewal of it shall take place, as it was in the times of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and afterwards in those of Antiochus Epiphanes;

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[1] Luke xxi. 20. seq.

[2] Ver. 21. Gr. ἐκχωρείτωσαν. Syr. Pesch. ܢܚܙܥܘ. In our MS. ܢܕܥ ܢܗܠܟܘ.—Cited also by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 69,) and ably commented upon. He also says (ib.), that Phlegon allows in his Chronicon that our Lord's predictions did come to pass. This author moreover gave an account of the eclipse of the Sun which took place at the crucifixion. See Spencer's note on the place, (p. 35, notes.)

[3] Syr. ܒܨܝܡܬܐ. This word I find in no Syriac Lexicon, I suppose however, that it is a sort of reduplication of ܨܝ, which is occasionally used in the sense of *side* or *border*, as in the phrase, ܒܨܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ, *on the side of the road*. It occurs again lower down, and seems in one place, to hold the situation which ܒܨܝܬܐ does in another. It should seem therefore, to mean the *places bordering* on Jerusalem. The Peschito has here, ܒܨܝܬܐ.

and again, in those of Pompey. For many times did this place suffer reduction, and was afterwards dignified by a more excellent restoration. But, when ye shall see it reduced by armies, know ye that which comes upon it, to be a final and full desolation and destruction[4]. He designates the desolation of Jerusalem, by the destruction of the Temple, and the laying aside of those services which were, according to the law of Moses, formerly performed within it. You are not to suppose, that the desolation of the city, mentioned in these (words), was to be such that no one should any more reside in it: for He says after this, that the city shall be inhabited, not by the Jews, but by the Gentiles, when speaking thus, "*And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles*[5]." It was known therefore to Him, that it should be inhabited by the Gentiles. But He styled this its *desolation* (viz). because it should no more (be inhabited)

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[4] Our author might have added much, if he had chosen to do so, from the Prophets, confirmatory of this position. I will supply an instance or two. In Isaiah xxiv. 1. we are told that "*the Lord maketh the earth* (read, *the land*, i. e. of Judea) *empty, and maketh it waste...and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof.*" 3. "*The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled.*"...5 *because they have transgressed the laws,... broken the everlasting covenant.*" 6. "*Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth* (*the land*)...*therefore the inhabitants of the earth* (*land*) *are burned* (comp. Deut. xxxii. 22—27)...20. "*And it shall fall, and* NOT RISE AGAIN." Verse 23. identifies this prediction with those here cited by Eusebius, viz. Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi. The conversion of the Gentiles is, moreover, beautifully touched upon ib. ver. 13—16. Comp. ch. xxv. 1. seq. In ch. xxvi. the same subject is taken up, and in ver. 5, 6, we have literally described, the TRAMPLING DOWN *of this impious city.* See also xxvi. ver. 10, 11, and xxviii. 18, also xxix. 1—7: 9—20, which are all obvious and direct predictions of these times: and to these many similar ones might be added. Let those who hold a restoration of the Jews look to this. See also Ezek. v, vi, vii, throughout with the parallel places, as given in the margins of the common Bibles. A large number of passages to this effect are cited from Isaiah by our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. II. xxx.—xxxvii. &c.

[5] Luke xxi. 24. But, because ἄχρι, "*until*," occurs here, many have been induced to think and to argue, that, still there must be a restoration of the Jews to satisfy this! See Demonstr. Evang. Lib. VII. p. 321. D. and Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 62, &c. it. Lib. IV. pp. 174—5, whose words here are, "θαῤῥοῦντες δ' ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀποκατασταθήσονται." "Audemus dicere, nunquam fore ut restituantur," &c.

by its own children, nor should the service of the law be established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew); because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem,—but is now named Ælia by Ælius Hadrian,—are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, "*they should be led captive into all nations*;" and, of the Gentiles, "*that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them.*" This miracle is then complete: the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter[1]! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers[2]; the things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (viz). "*They shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles.*" The manner moreover of the captivity, points out the war of which He spoke; "*For* (said He) *there shall be* (*great*)[3] *tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people: and they shall fall by the edge of the sword.*" We

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[1] So also Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. vi. (Edit. 1695.) p. 95. seq. where (p. 96 B.) the words used are an echo of these: viz. "*νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἂν μὴ δ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου.*" The testimony of Tertullian, very much to the same effect, will be found in the Bishop of Lincoln's valuable work, "The Eccles. Hist. of the second and third Centuries;" &c. Camb. 1826. p. 162.

[2] Ib. B.

[3] The word "*great*" (Syr.) used above, is omitted here. Luke xxi. 23, 24.

can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour, when He said, "*Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days*[4]." For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer; but, that they should depart thence, and "*flee to the mountains;*" and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands[5], should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, "*Let those who are in its borders*[6] *not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written.*" Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner;—

From the sixth Book of Josephus[7].

21. "And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity[8] of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians: one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would

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[4] Luke ib. ver. 23. [5] ܒܝܫܘܬܗ.

[6] ܒܝܫܘܬܗ. See the note at the beginning of the paragraph. Luke xxi. 21, 22.

[7] Hudson's edition. Tom. II. Lib. VI. p. 1274, line 27.

[8] Syr. ܫܠܝܡܘܬܐ. Gr. *ἀναίδειαν.*

gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned)—that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods,—had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which it has, in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan,—whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth,—took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman's other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers[1]. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death,—either on account of her indignation or in mercy; and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it): hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger;—she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son,—for she had a sucking infant,—and said, "Wretched (babe)! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult?—that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude; and the seditious are cruel. Come; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance;—and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him! the rest she hid, and kept[2]!"

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[1] Syr. ܓܕܡܝ. Joseph. Gr. δορυφόροι.

[2] Deut. xxviii. 56, 57. "The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground

These sufferings out of many, I have here set down on account of the Divine prediction of our Saviour, which declared, "*Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days:*" and because it adds this also to the predictive words of our Saviour, "*There shall be great tribulation on the land, and great wrath upon this people:*" or, as Matthew has said[3], "*For there shall be at that time great tribulation, the like of which has not been since the beginning of the world, even until now; nor shall be*" (hereafter). It will be well therefore, to hear this writer himself, when thus putting on record the fulfilment of these same things.

From the fifth Book of Josephus[4].

22. "It would be impossible to give an account of each and every of their iniquities singly; we say then summarily, that no (other) city (ever) suffered all these things; and, that there never was a generation so fruitful in vices as this[5]: for they destroyed the city itself[6]! and (were the cause) that the Romans should be recorded,—as forced by them against their own wills,—to this sad

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for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward *her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee.*" See all the preceding verses, 52 seq. Comp. Lam. ii. 11; iv. 3, 10, 11. Ezek. v. 9, 13, 16, 17. These predictions were, indeed, dreadfully fulfilled to the very letter!

[3] Matt. xxiv. 21.

[4] Hudson's Josephus, Tom. II. Lib. v. cap. 10, p. 1246, line 41.

[5] There is a considerable omission here in our Syriac text of Josephus: but, as the matter omitted could have but little reference to the objects had in view by Eusebius; there is no reason to suppose, the text of Josephus himself to be redundant on this account.

[6] The Syriac is worded rather extraordinarily here; which I notice for the mere sake of the Student. It stands thus: ܐܠܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ

victory! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple; and viewed from the upper city, the fire that was burning within it." Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things! Because, "*there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world.*" This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests! the whole of which was fully brought to pass[1] forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions,—determining the time,—how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, "*Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:*" intimating by this, the end[2] of the world.

Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John.

23. On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine,—which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity,—a woman of Samaria drew near to Him; and, after other words, said to Him, "*Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this*

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[1] Syr. ܐܬܟܡܝ ܗܢܝ ܕܟܠ ܟܠ ܗܘ. According to the Dictionaries, *The whole was crowned after forty years.* Nothing, I think, can be more certain—as far as the authority of this place goes, than that ܟܠ here, is used in the sense of the Heb. כָּלָה, *completed, brought to pass,* or the like.

[2] "*The times of the Gentiles*" must, I think, mean those times previously spoken of in the Scriptures, during which the Gentiles should retain their ancient state and power. That is, during the last part of Daniel's fourth monarchy, in which it is foretold they should have the rule. After this, during the fifth kingdom the saints are to have the rule, these therefore, must be *their* times, not, scripturally speaking, "*the times of the Gentiles.*" Our author is therefore, wrong in this place. See the Introduction to his work. He is not the only one who has taken it in this sense, as may be seen by referring to Poole's Synopsis, &c.

mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) *ought to worship.*" Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, "*Believe me woman, the hour cometh* (in) *which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father.*" And, after a few other things, He said: "*The hour cometh, and now is,* (*in*) *which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth*[3]." And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor,—in whose times these things were said,—the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record; that of Moses, respecting Gerizim; and those of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem[4]. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enouncement of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so pertinaciously to these places: which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols,

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[3] John iv. 19—24.

[4] The places had here in view are Deut. xi. 29; xxvii. 4. seq. Josh. viii. 30. seq. The Samaritans, it appears, have introduced a large number of spurious readings into the Text of their edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and, among others, one ascribing a higher degree of honour to mount Gerizim, than to Hebal: for which Dr Kennicott, some years ago, considered it his duty to contend. See my Prolegomena to Mr Bagster's Polyglott Bible, Proleg. II. sect. i. xxi. seq. where I have shewn that much relating to this controversy had not been duly understood.

by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was rased to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, "*The hour cometh*, (in) *which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship.*" He terms the time (meant) "*the hour*;" which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added, "*The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth.*" He necessarily added therefore here, *It* "*now is.*" For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.) "*The true worshippers*,"—of whom He was the Head and Teacher,—His Disciples, who received the rational service,—from Him, did perform the service of God, "*in spirit and in truth.*" But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, that no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those "*true worshippers*" worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, "*in spirit and truth.*" Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes;—that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did THE WORD OF GOD here predict. He also said, henceforth "*in spirit and truth.*" That is, "*the true worshippers*" shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching. From the Gospel of John.

24. "*I am*[1] *the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me. Even as the Father hath*

[1] John x. 14—17.

known me, so know I the Father....And I lay down my life (lit. self) *for my sheep. And I have other sheep, those who were not of this fold; and it is necessary that I should bring in these, and that they should hear my voice. And there shall be one flock and one shepherd.*" By other words (too) He taught and said, "*I am not come, but to the sheep that have strayed of the house of Israel*[2]." It was the Jewish people then, that He named under this figure; but, by the things before us, He predicted, that it was not those only who had become His disciples from among the Jews, that were considered (as) of the number of His flock; but those also who were without this fold. For thus, the word (Scripture) usually names at one time, the whole Jewish people; at another, Jerusalem, and the service there performed according to the Law of Moses.—That "*He would collect other sheep which were not of that fold*," implies the whole creation; and He foretold by these things, that out of them (this) rational flock should be so brought together to Him, that to the one and self-same worship of God, all, (both) Jews[3] and Idolaters believing in Him, should come over; and, that there should be "*one flock and one Shepherd.*" This is His Church, which has been established both from among the Jews, and Gentiles. And thus, has it come to pass! For at once, at the outset of the preaching of the Gospel, great multitudes of the Jews were convinced that He was the Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. And with these, (those), who believed on Him from among the Gentiles, were brought together in one Church, under the hand of the one Shepherd,—of Him who is THE WORD OF GOD. For in Jerusalem itself arose, from among the Jews, one after another fifteen bishops of the Church there, from James who was the first[4]. There were too thousands, at once both of Jews and Gentiles there, who had been brought together, even to the time of

[2] Matt. xv. 24.

[3] These Jews, according to our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. II. xxxvi. cap. iv. p. 63. seq. constituted the *Remnant*, which it had frequently been foretold should be saved. And in this he was certainly right. Examine these places, and comp. Rom. xi. 5, &c.

[4] So also in our author's Eccles. Hist. Book, Lib. IV. cap. v.

its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention THE WORD OF GOD and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: "*The Lord feedeth me* (as a shepherd), *and I shall lack nothing*[1]." And on another; "*Shepherd of Israel look*, (thou) *who leadest Joseph as a flock*[2]:" and, on another, He introduces (one) saying, "*He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep*[3]." He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), THE WORD OF GOD, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock, and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, "*I am the good Shepherd;*" and which also said, "*I lay down my life for my sheep.*" (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: "*I have other sheep*," shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), "*Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance.*"

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[1] Ps. xxiii. 1. [2] Ps. lxxx. 1.

[3] This is no direct citation of Scripture: it is perhaps, as on a former occasion, (above p. 18, note,) the general sense only of some one or two verses. The most likely appear to me to be Is. xl. 10, 11.

How His death was the cause of the redemption of many.
From the Gospel of John.

25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him,—it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: "[4] *The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it* (so) *die, it will bring forth much fruit.*" By these things also, He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, "*His hour had come that He should be glorified,*" but, when the Greeks[5] drew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone[6], but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies[7] of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth,—just as that which lives after death,—it will increase, and, from the power vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced.

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[4] John xii. 23, 24.

[5] These however were probably Hellenistic Jews; for we are told that "there were certain Greeks among them that came up *to worship at the feast.*" They might, indeed, have been proselytes: but the former supposition is the most probable.

[6] Syr. ܚܡܐ, is a contraction for ܚܡܐ ܚܡܐ, just as ܩܢܐ, is for ܩܢܐ ܩܢܐ.

[7] Syr. ܙܪܙܐ ܕܙܪܥܐ, lit. *words*, or *reasons*, of the seed. The reader will bear in mind, that ܡܠܬܐ, has often been used, in this work, in the sense of *invigorating, efficient, cause*, and the like, as derived from Him who is termed The Word, ܡܠܬܐ. See Book I. sect. 76. above, with the note.

For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, "*He who was dead, but is alive*[1]." He, who after His fall which was by death, inincreased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, "*The harvest*[2] *is great, but the labourers are few.*" And again, "*Lift*[3] *up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest.*" These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations;—collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "*He*[4] *whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into* (His) *treasuries: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable.*"

How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life. From the Gospel of John.

26. "*My*[5] *children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon*[6] *Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "[7]*I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest whither*

[1] Alluding perhaps to Luke xv. 32.
[2] Matt. ix. 37. Luke x. 2. [3] 2 John iv. 35.
[4] Matt. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17.
[5] John xiii. 33. [6] Ib. ver. 36. [7] John xxi. 18, 19.

thou wouldest; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) *to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, Follow me.*" And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things considered good in this life; nor did He by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them. And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixion, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, "*When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee.*" And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, "*Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour.

How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them. From the Gospel of Matthew[8].

27. "*Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles.*" And again[9], "*Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil* (thing) *against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you.*" Now, the wonder is this, (viz.) the additional word here saying, "*for my sake.*" For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretel the persecutions

[8] Chap. x. 17. [9] Chap. v. 11, 12.

which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, *they should suffer these things for His sake.* Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but,—(as) He previously testified,—that every thing (of this sort) should befall them *for His sake:* which is present in the fact for our information! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him. He did indeed, fully stir up and make them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God; *for*[1], (said He), *even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets.* Now that He should foretel, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions[2]; others (who thought), that *Rest*[3] was the extreme (good): and others, that *Rest* indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, pre-

[1] A paraphrastical exposition of Matt. v. 12. Luke vi. 23.

[2] Syr. ܟܬ̈ܐ ܕܥܘ̈ܠܐ ܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ. Or, it may mean, of *vicious sects*, as ܥܘ̈ܠܐ, is here evidently the Greek τάγμα, which is mostly used to signify *a military body*, as being set in order, r. τάσσω. The Second Book of our work has generally discussed these matters.

[3] See above, Book II. par. 19, p. 80. with the notes.

viously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour. How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God?—these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples; but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that *these things should happen to them, for His sake?*

How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions. From the Gospel of Matthew[4].

28. "*The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live.*" Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that "*the brother should deliver his brother to death;*" for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that "*the brother delivered his brother to death.*"—When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will *the*

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[4] Chap. x. 21. seq. This place, as in other instances, differs slightly from the Peschito. It is cited for the same purpose by Theodoret, Græc. affect. curat. p. 446. Ed. Gaisford. We have in the heading here, in the Syriac ܐܕ, for ܐܕܡ, the last letter having dropped out in the process of printing.

brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul. In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) *deliver him to death.* So also *the children, their parents:* they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents[1]. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction): "*Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.*" In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for *His name's sake, they should be hated.*

On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them. From the Gospel of Matthew[2].

29. "*The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort* (of fish); *and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*" The "*net*,"—which is here (put) by a figure for the word,—and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine: the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, "*the sea.*" Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the "*net*," so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed

[1] This is a far-fetched, and unnecessary, interpretation. The intention of the passage seems to be,—what indeed the commentators usually make it,—that, as there should be divisions in families, (Luke xii. 52, 53,) those who were opposed to our Lord, should betray and give up those who were His followers: a thing which in all probability took place.

[2] Chap. xiii. 47. seq.

to each other in their characters; and of these, the good and bad in their dispositions. Of these too he spoke mystically, as being caught up from the sea after the manner of fish, when He said in the first calling of His Disciples, "*Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men*[3]." This collecting together therefore of such men, bad and good, in His Church,—assembled (as they are) to this very time,—was not unknown to Him: for He taught, that these same should at last be separated by the Angels, who should be appointed to this (work); and (so) should the punishment, due to the disposition of each one, be awarded.

How Impostors and Seducers should invest themselves with His Doctrine, and formally present themselves to Him. From the Gospel of Matthew[4].

30. "*Beware of lying Prophets who come to you in lambs' clothing, but inwardly (are) rapacious wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. For men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles*[5]. *So every good tree produceth good fruit, but an evil tree giveth forth evil fruit.*" He (here) counselled (them) by His foreknowledge, to beware of those ungodly persons, who, availing themselves of the [6]opinions of others, and of the words of the Scriptures of His Divinity, should in after times formally assume the name of Christianity. He also shews the marks and vouchers of the evil concealed within them, and which should deceive the many, when saying, "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*" Now the fruits of such are these; the ungodly words uttered by them; their unrighteous and perverse manner of life. These things then, when uttered and foretold by our Saviour, afforded at that time no visible testimony whatever to those who heard them, (as to their truth); but, in after times, the facts (so) declared became openly visible to all: the followers accordingly of

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[3] See above, par. 6.

[4] Chap. vii. 15, 16, 17, and as before, differing slightly from the Peschito.

[5] We have ܙܙܘܙ here, for the ܚܠܦܙ of the Peschito. I have translated the place accordingly.

[6] I. e. Heterodoxy.

Marcion[1], Valentinus[2], Basilides[3], and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz.) Bardesanes[4], and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean[5]

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[1] Syr. ܡܪܩܝܘܢ. Marcion himself was a native of Pontus, and lived in the times of Anicetus the eleventh Bishop of Rome. He enlarged upon the errors of Cerdon his immediate predecessor, who had espoused and laboured to propagate the opinions of Simon Magus. Marcion was an open blasphemer of God, and corrupter of the Scriptures. He was one of those *who forbade marriage*, and urged the *abstaining from certain meats*, and in this, he seems to have agreed with the Manicheans and Saturninians: in many things with the Simonians, Basilidians, Bogomilians, Audeans, &c. This heresy had, in the times of Epiphanius, extended itself to Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and Persia. See Grabe's Irenæus, p. 104, with the notes and references.

[2] Syr. ܡܢ ܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܠܛܢܘܣ. So called after their leader Valentinus, who came to Rome in the times of Hyginus, and lived during those of Pius, and to those of Anicetus. His doctrines had originated in Simon Magus, which he very gradually and cautiously endeavoured to introduce into the Church. For which he was eventually deprived of communion. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Index. It. Grabe.

[3] Syr. ܡܢ ܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܣܝܠܝܩ. So called after Basilides their leader. He was a native of Alexandria, and flourished in the times of Hadrian. He received his doctrines, which were those of Simon Magus, from Menander, in which *marriage was forbidden*, and *the abstaining from certain meats was urged*. See Grabe's Irenæus, p. 96, with the notes and Index.

[4] He was a native of Mesopotamia, and flourished in the times of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He first attached himself to Valentinus; but afterwards wrote against him and his doctrines. He is said to have been a very elegant and acute writer: but he never purged himself, as it should seem, from the Gnostic heresy. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. cap. xxx. Asseman. Bible. Orient. Tom. I. p. 47, &c. as marked in the Index: particularly p. 389, note.

[5] Manes, (or, as the modern Persians name him, مانی, *Māni*, the Syrians ܡܢܝ *Manni*,) was a Persian by birth, and, according to the Chronicon of Edessa (Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 393, note) was born A. D. 240. He entered Mesopotamia in A. D. 261, when he came to Archelaus Bishop of the Caschari, for the purpose of disputing on the subject of religion: but, being overcome, he secretly withdrew himself to Persia. He was there taken by the king, flayed alive, and exposed to dogs. He was strenuous in advancing the old oriental doctrine of the *two Principles, good*, and *bad*, among Christians; of which marked traces remain to this day among the Mohammedans of Persia, as may be seen

heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour's lambs. And He plainly styled His Disciples "*sheep*;" saying, "*My sheep hear my voice*[6]:" and again, "*Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves*[7]." Of these then they outwardly assumed the manner, while in themselves they were "*rapacious wolves*." (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away? Who, presenting their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs! But, that ungodly bitterness[8] which lay (as) in ambush within them, adhered secretly to those who had been ensnared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought to be "*sheep*," because of their (thus) drawing near (to Him), openly appeared afterwards to be "*rapacious wolves*."

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in the celebrated work of Kuleini, under the figures of *Intellect* and *Folly*, (see my Persian Controversies, p. 175, and note,) as also in the *Dabistān*, ascribed to Mohsin Fāni. He held with the Gnostics, that Christ was a mere Phantom; he put it forth that himself was the Christ, and the Comforter (Paraclete): and his twelve Disciples accordingly proscribed marriage as being of the Devil, &c. See Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. I. xxvi. Tom. IV. with the Index. Epiphan. de Mens. et Pond. as cited by Asseman. A Syriac translation of the work of Titus, Bishop of Bozra, against this heresy, is to be found in the volume from which I take this work of Eusebius. All these, according to Hegesippus, as preserved by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. cap. xxii.) originated from Thebuthis, who, being mortified because not made a Bishop, set about secretly to corrupt the Church. He was of one of the seven sects then spread abroad among the Jews. Out of which also arose Simon, whence the Simonians: also Cleobius, Dositheüs, Gortheüs, Masbotheüs; whence also Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, &c. &c. Hence also the false Christs, false Apostles, false Prophets, &c. See the notes of Valesius, Ed. 1695, p. 69. seq.

[6] John x. 27.

[7] Matt. x. 16: comp. Luke x. 3. Cited also by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.

[8] Syr. ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ, which, I think, should be read ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ: the intention of our author evidently being, to give an equivalent to the "*amarum et maligni principis apostasiæ serpentis venenum*" of Irenæus, Edit. Grabe. p. 105.

And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*"

How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.

31. "*The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master, and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall not be made known*[1]." The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men[2]. But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating)

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[1] Matt. x. 24, 25, 26. Differing slightly from the Peschito, as before. Cited partly by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 447.

[2] Matt. ix. 34; xii. 34. Mark iii. 22. Nothing was more common, among both the Jews and heathens, than the accusation of Magic against the miraculous powers of Christ, and of His immediate followers. (See Wetstein on Matt. xii. 24.) "The Heathen," says Bingham,... "because our Saviour and his followers did many miracles, which they imputed to evil arts, and the power of magic,....therefore generally declaimed against them as magicians, and under that character exposed them to the fury of the vulgar," &c. From the prevalence of a belief in magic still in the East, the Mohammedans strongly object to the manner in which we speak of miracles; because, say they, it might still follow, that such miracles proceeded from skill in magic. See my Persian Controversies, Camb. 1824, sect. ii. p. 191. seq. and Book v. sect. 2. below.

the worship of God. He said therefore, "*Fear them not; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known.*" He therefore reproved these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many[3].

On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society. From the Gospel of Matthew.

32. When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication[4], and His Disciples said to Him, "*If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives;*" It is written, that He said upon these things, "*Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were thus from their mothers' womb; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it).*" It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this; or, who did any thing like it: or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who

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[3] This place, which is obscure, seems to me to mean this: He bore long with the ignorance of His disciples, seeing as they did His divine power, and blamed their doubting as to the ultimate results of His Gospel. The chief difficulty in the Syriac is, the introduction of the interrogative ܐܡܬܝ, *How?* intended apparently to have the force of a strong negative.

[4] Matt. xix. 9. Differing from the Peschito as before.

kept[1] themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,) and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak[2] in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself[3]. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God.

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[1] Syr. ܢܨܝܚܘ, against which some pious monk has written in the margin, ܚܙܝ ܘܨܒܐ, *see and desire:* as if this were an essential of Christianity!

[2] Syr. &c. ܐܬܚܠܫܘ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܟܫܠܘ, Castell had given in his Lexicon, ܟܫܠ "*imbecillitas,*" "Ubinam, quo auctore aut exemplo?" asks Michaelis in his edition of it.—This passage can perhaps hardly be made out, without adopting Castell's meaning of the word. It is well known that cognate verbs do, in the sister dialects of the Hebrew, often take the sense of one another. In this case, the sense will be that of the Hebrew, חלה, Arab. خلا, *defecit,* &c. If it be said, that the place might be rendered thus; they delayed not, but became strong in the doctrine, &c. then, it may be asked, How is the ܕ following, to be taken? ܕܐܬܚܙܩ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, &c. I am induced to believe therefore, that Castell is right, and that this place affords the sort of example which Michaelis required.

[3] It need not be supposed that our author mentions this, for the purpose of praising it: his object probably was to shew, that, as our Lord foretold this, its coming to pass—a thing most unnatural and unheard of,—was sufficient to shew His foreknowledge. In his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. vi. cap. viii.) he has mentioned this, as the daring act of an inexperienced young man, resulting from a simple and juvenile method of interpreting the passage referred to: which he says was, nevertheless, a proof of continence and of a strong faith; and this is perhaps, a main part of his object here. See also Book v. sect. 14. below.

On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

33. When a great multitude of men had come near Him, He thus foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying: "[4] *Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold.* After these things He cried out and said, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*" After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, "*Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not,—the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the way side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little affliction. And that which fell among the thorns, is he who heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold.*" Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare by (one's) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly THE WORD of God?—He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught;—of whom it is said, "*The WORD OF GOD is lively* (energetic), *and more sharp and cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the*

[4] Matt. xiii. 3—9.

soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden[1]*?*" He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground bear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three (moving) causes: Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns: or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them: or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the

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[1] Heb. iv. 12. seq. Differing considerably from the Peschito, as before. The ancients, as it will be seen in Poole (Synopsis), generally referred this passage to Christ, just as Eusebius does here; and, it must be confessed, the matter contained in the 13th verse, powerfully supports this view. The exegetical sense however, comes to the same under either view: for, whether we take the *word of Christ*, with the moderns; or, the *Word, Christ*, with the ancients, the effects, here spoken of, must all be eventually referred to Him. I prefer the former view, as being the more obvious and simple.

multitude of those who should in after-times bear (much) fruit, through the instruction of His words, He thus cried out and said, "*The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest*[2]." And again, of these same He said on another occasion: "*Do not ye yourselves say, that there are yet four months, and the harvest cometh? Lift up your eyes, and see the fields that they are white for the harvest*[3]*!*" And, Who does not wonder, that He should shew even the fewness of those who should in purity be the chiefs of His word, for He said, "*The labourers are few?*" And, as prayer was necessary for the obtaining of these, He said therefore, "*Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest.*" When He said therefore, "*The sower went out to sow,*" He also said, that there was another sower, and another seed; and He also shewed and taught, whence, and whither, he went forth by the things said in the parable immediately following this, which is in this form:—

On the teaching of Heterodoxy[4]*, which should be sown together with His word in the souls of men.* From the Gospel of Matthew.

34. He added another Parable, and said: "*The kingdom of heaven is like to a man, who sowed good seed in his field. But, when men slept, the Enemy came and sowed Tares among the wheat, and departed. When therefore, the wheat sprang forth and produced fruit, the Tares appeared in like manner. And his servants drew near and said to him: Our Lord, Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? Whence are there Tares in it? But he said to them, The man (who is) the Enemy hath done this. They say to him: Is it thy will therefore, that we go (and) gather them? But he*

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[2] Matt. ix. 37.

[3] John iv. 35. Differing in each case from the Peschito, as before.

[4] Syr. ܐܚܪܢ ܗܪܛܩܣܝܐ, lit. *other opinions:* which is probably put for the Greek ἑτεροδοξία; it being customary with the Syrians so to translate Greek compounds. See above, Book II. par. 19, note, and ib. 69.

said to them, No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries[1]" (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, "*Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said:* [2] *The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser. And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna*[3] *of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*" Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable[4], these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions[5]: "*The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world.*" For He usually called Himself the "*Son of man*," on account of His going about among men[6]. He therefore *went forth* from

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[1] Matt. xiii. 24—31. Differing from the Peschito, as before.

[2] Ib. 36—43.

[3] The Greek has here κάμινον, and the Peschito ܟܘܡܐ, its literal translation: no MS. has γεέννα, whence it appears very likely, that Eusebius cited the passage from memory: a thing very common with the Fathers.

[4] The Syr. has here ܡܠܬܐ, *word*, an error of the copyist no doubt, for ܦܬܓܡܐ, *parable*: the same error recurs a little lower down.

[5] Syr. ܡܠܬܐ, as before.

[6] Rather, one would think, from his being *born as a man*.

within[7], and came out. Where then was He *within*, but above the world? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world[8] He *came forth*, and came down to us, who were *without* (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands. For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed;—which says, "*The field is the world*;" and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself;—to Him who came forth from *the inner part of His kingdom*, to those who were "*without*" (out of it), when saying, "*the servants drew near and said to Him*, "*Our Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in* THY *field?*" He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own: and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Hereticks: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enouncements assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines[9];—and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and "*Tares*" (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour; making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels:—but he who was the Father of these things;

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[7] See above, Book I. sects. 27, 37, with the notes.

[8] It will be sufficient to remark here that, by the "*end of the world*," must be meant in this place,—as in very many passages of Scripture,—that period in which the old system passed away, and the new one—the Christian Church was established. But of this, more in our Introduction to this work.

[9] Much to the same effect, Eccles. Hist. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. near the end.

—he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, "*the harvest*," "*the end*," and "*the angels the reapers:*" also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire:—the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed; of whom it is said, "*Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father.*"

On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ[1].
From the Gospel of Matthew[2].

35. "*When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many.*" And again, after a few things He said, "[3]*If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold* (it) *to you*[4]. *If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, believe* (it) *not. For, as the lightning shineth from the*

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[1] The MS. has ܟܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ, *Christians*, which, from what follows, evidently ought to be, ܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ *the Christ*.

[2] Chap. xxiv. 3. seq. [3] Ib. ver. 23—27.

[4] "*Behold, I have told you before,*" of the authorized version is ambiguous. I have therefore avoided this.

East, and is seen even to the West; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be." And on another occasion, when speaking with the Jews, He added these things and said, "[5] *I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; but, if another come in his own name, him ye will receive.*" These things He foretold when warning His Disciples against the lying Antichrist[6], whom they were expecting: and one (of these) shewed of another in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, who (should be) in (the time of) *the end*[7]. But, that others also should be before this, our Saviour Himself foretold in several places: "*For many,*" said He, "*shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ, and shall deceive many.*" And there were many (such) after (these) His words. And so the Samaritans were forthwith persuaded that Dositheüs[8], who was after the times of our Saviour, was the prophet of whom

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[5] John v. 43.

[6] The Syr. has here, ܕܓܓܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ, probably in imitation of the Gr. ὁ ἀντίχριστος ὁ ψευδής.

[7] The place here alluded to is, most probably, 2 Thess. ii. 3. seq. The person who should withhold (ὁ κατέχων, ver. 6.) was, most probably Nero. (See Wetstein on the place); and "*the man of sin,*" generally, each of the several Roman Emperors who became persecutors of the Church. Such was the opinion,—and no doubt the true one—of many of the Fathers: which is grounded on Dan. vii. 8; ix. 27; and xi. 36. See also my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 235, 237, note, and ib. p. 326. seq. with the Introduction to this work.

[8] He was, according to some, as ancient as the times of Sennacherib; which appears to be quite visionary. Jerome places him before the times of our Lord, and makes him the author of the sect of the Pharisees. Origen however affirms, that he was contemporary with the Apostles, and that he declared himself to be the Christ. This, Origen probably grounded on a passage in the Recognitions ascribed to Clemens Romanus, which informs us, that upon the death of John the Baptist, Dositheüs set up his claim; appointed thirty disciples, and took a woman whom he named *the moon*—(considering the Sun probably as his own representative). To this man Simon Magus attached himself, and obtained a place among the thirty, on the first vacancy that afterwards occurred; and soon after he fell in love with this woman. Hegesippus too, makes Dositheüs contemporary with the Apostles, as also does Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria. See the note of Valesius to the Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. And the note above, sect. 30. On the other hand, Theodoret makes Simon Magus the leader. Tom. iv. p. 193.

Moses predicted[1]. And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus "*the great power of God*[2]," and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus[3] in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour's foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one should thus think, He said, "*If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not.*" For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, "*For, as the lightning goeth forth*[4]

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[1] Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19. [2] Acts viii. 10.

[3] He commenced his career of heresy in a village of Mysia named Ardaba, situate on the borders of Phrygia. He took to him two women, named Priscilla and Maximilla; gave out that he was the Paraclete, and that his women were Prophetesses. His sect, which was the Cataphrygian, was large, and, at one time, reckoned Tertullian among its supporters. Among other things, the dissolution of marriages and new sorts of fastings were inculcated as necessary. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. capp. iii. xiv. xvi. xviii. and the notes of Valesius. See also Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. III. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 227.

[4] As these citations were probably all made from memory, the reader must not be surprised in finding that they occasionally differ, even in the same context.—These passages would, one would think, be sufficient to satisfy those who are so intent on the personal reign of Christ on earth, that their notions are perfectly groundless. For, if He is not to be seen either *here, there;* either, in *the desert,* or in the *secret chamber,* as the false Christs were; but, whose coming was rather to be as the lightning in rapidity and effect,—as indeed was the case in the overthrow of the Jews, the spread of Christianity, and the fall of the Roman Empire; and as particularly foretold in Dan. vii. 13, 14: comp. Matt. xxiv. 24, 30; xxvi. 64. Ephes. i. 22. Col. i. 23, also Zech. ix. 14, with the preceding context from ver. 9;—then must all speculations about a per-

from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

On the events that should happen at the end of things.
From the Gospel of Matthew[5].

36. "*Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotions*[6] *in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake.*" And after this He added, and said, "[7]*Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End.*" He clearly foretold also by these things, that His

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sonal reign on earth be visionary and false. Our author however, seems to understand this, as referring to our Lord's coming to judgment at the last day. If so, I have no doubt he is wrong.

[5] Chap. xxiv. 6—9. ib. ver. 10—14.

[6] Syr. ܪܓܫܐ, taken generally as signifying "*earthquakes*" in this place; but which may mean any *agitation* or *commotion*.

[7] Cited by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 68.), with this remark: "τίς δ' οὐ θαυμάσεται ἀναβαίνων τῷ λόγῳ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον διδάσκοντα καὶ λέγοντα...καὶ θεωρῶν κατὰ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰρημένα κεκηρυγμένον τὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, σοφοῖς καὶ ἀνοήτοις; Πᾶσαν γὰρ φύσιν ἀνθρώπων ὁ μετὰ δυνάμεως λαληθεὶς λόγος κεκράτηκε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τι γένος ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἐκπέφευγε παραδέξασθαι τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν." "Quis item non mirabitur, ascendens contemplatione ad illud vaticinium.....cum videat juxta illam prædictionem jam prædicatum in omnibus, quæ sub cœlo sunt, terris Græcorum barbarorumque tum sapientibus, tum insipientibus? Omnem enim humanam naturam vicit sermo prædicatus cum potentia, nec est videre ullum genus hominum, à quo hæc doctrina recepta non sit."

Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, "*and then should the* END *come.*" For the END of the world should not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached; so also should the time of the END[1] be short (in its coming). He further teaches and

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[1] This argument is urged by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 68. Edit. Spencer). From this reasoning of Eusebius, it is evident that he believed that *the End* had come. And in this there can be no doubt, I think, he was right; but as this involves a question very ill understood at this day, it may be right to offer a few words here, as to what is meant by the *End.* This, I think, Daniel (ix. 27.) terms the "*consummation:*" (comp. ver. 26 and vii. 26, 28,) that is, the *End* of his seventy weeks, (ib. ver. 24. seq.) when "*vision and prophecy*" should be sealed: i. e. completed. In chap. viii. 19, it is said, "at the time appointed the *End* shall be." Again, ib. chap. 27, 28. The *End* of the matter is said to be, when the kingdom under the whole heaven shall have been given to the Saints (i. e.) the Christians: in other words, when the Kings of the earth shall have become its nursing fathers, and Queens its nursing mothers, (Is. XLIX. 23.) Again, Dan. xii. 7. When the power of the holy people shall have been scattered, "*all these things shall be finished:*" i. e. when the power of the new Church shall be spread abroad far and wide, then shall the *End* of all these things be. (Comp. Is. LXII. 12, &c. Dan. viii. 24.) In Rev. x. 6, 7, which is an exact parallel of Dan. xii. 7, it is sworn by the angel, that *time shall be no longer*, and that the mystery of God, as declared *by the Prophets, shall be finished.* Now, our Lord has identified his predictions (Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.) with these of Daniel. In the former (ver. 14.) He says: "*then shall the* END *come. When ye therefore shall see the abomination ... spoken of by Daniel the prophet*" (ix. 27; xii. 11.) ... "*then shall be great tribulation*" (ver. 21. comp. Dan. ix. 26; xii. 1.); ver. 34, "*This generation shall not pass till all these things be,*" i. e. commenced (comp. ver. 8.). In the latter (Luke xxi. ver. 22.) "*These be the days of vengeance, that* ALL THINGS *which are written* MAY BE FULFILLED" (i. e. in them). That the terms, *latter days, last days, end of the world, ends of the world,* the *fulness of time*, refer to the times of the Apostles, and those immediately subsequent to these, the Concordance, with the parallels marked in our common Bibles, will be sufficient to shew.—But the kingdom of the saints is never to end (i. e. as far as prediction is concerned); it can therefore, have no *last days, latter days*, or the like. When any such terms are referred to the last judgment, the language is doctrinal, not prophetical. I conclude, therefore, that this *End* did come, when the persecution of Diocletian ceased: for

says, "*Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet.*" He also shews when this shall be, for He says, "*The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations: and then cometh the end.*" When also, "*famines and pestilences, and commotions* (shall be) *in divers places, and nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom,*" and there shall be overwhelming persecutions, and great afflictions. After these things too, He says, "*And ye shall be hated of all nations,*" not on account of any other hateful acts, but "*for my name's sake*[2]."

37. These proofs of the Divine manifestation of our Saviour, which we have thus far seen, are at the same time demonstrative, that both the words and deeds (had in view) are Divine. For in former times, the words were simply heard; but now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly visible in deed, together with powers eclipsing those of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded by these, we ought not to wonder: because it is usual with man so to resist things the most plain, as even to dare to oppose by his words the existence of an universal Providence; and hence also, to deny God himself! And thus also, will he disingenuously contend against many other things, to which the truth bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in its own nature true; so also will the wicked unbelief of men, in no way injure the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. But, if it is right

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then all the conditions of prophecy had been fulfilled. Eusebius is therefore right. See also my Sermons and Dissertations, London, 1831, and the Introduction to this work.

[2] He proved in sect. 28, above, that this had taken place, as he affirms in other places, that the Gospel had been received *throughout the whole world.* And so says the Apostle, "*Yes, verily their sound went out into* ALL THE EARTH, *and their words unto the* END OF THE WORLD." Rom. x. 18; and ib. xvi. 26.—"*made known to* ALL NATIONS FOR THE OBEDIENCE OF FAITH." And again, Col. i. 23...."*The Gospel, which was preached to* EVERY CREATURE WHICH IS UNDER HEAVEN." To the same effect is the testimony of the Fathers generally. See the "*Salutaris Lux Evangelica*" of Fabricius: and the Introduction to this work.

that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

The End of the Fourth Book (*of* Eusebius) *of Cæsarea.*

BOOK V.

THE FIFTH BOOK (OF EUSEBIUS) OF CÆSAREA.

1. SUCH as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disingenuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions[1], in proof of the Gospels. If therefore any one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and impos-

[1] Alluding to the interrogative mode of inquiry pursued in the former Books of this work.

tor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated:—

Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver.

2. [1]Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disciples, that the indigent should of their wealth[2] adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound with them[3]? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God? How could He,—who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one,—be justly named a magician[4]? But, What need can there be, that I should now say many

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[1] This place occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. iii. p. 102. D. seq.—The charge of our Lord's being a magician is often advanced by Celsus, Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. pp. 7, 30, 55, &c. See sect. 16, below, and Spencer's notes on Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. p. 7, notes.

[2] Syr. ܕܡܬܬܠ ܒܗ ܕܣܓܝܐ ܕܣܓܝ ܒܥܘܬܗ ܕܢܬܠ ܒܗ. The meaning of which I suppose is, that he wished His followers to be, those who most felt their wants of His aid. The Syriac is probably defective here.

[3] Syr. ܕܣܓܝ ; ܐܠܐ ܒܝܕ ܐܝܕܐ ܕܙܕܩܬܐ ܘܕܪܚܡܐ. By ܐܝܕܐ ܕܙܕܩܬܐ is meant literally *the stretching out of the hand* in offering assistance. I have rendered it, therefore, by *liberality*. The Greek, however, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. iii. p. 102. is as follows:... "ἐν τῷ τοὺς φοιτητὰς παιδεύειν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐνδεέσι κοινωνεῖν, καὶ τὸ φιλόπονον καὶ κοινωνικὸν περὶ πολλοῦ τίθεσθαι." Our translator does not seem clearly to have apprehended the construction of τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, &c.

[4] The Greek adds here, "ἔστω γὰρ ὑμῶν τὸ ναί, ναί· τὸ οὔ, οὔ." (Matt. v. 37), which is, probably, the addition of some copyist.

things (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words,—which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth,—what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver[5], but was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and[6] not of this common philosophy of the world;—

3. But[7] the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these.—Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, [8]Was it not God, the King of all, Him alone, of whom it is written that He is the cause of every good thing, that He taught and presented to His disciples? And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overleap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated? Was this then His error? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to worship many gods,—to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood:—(and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinations of their

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[5] The Greek has, ἀλλά τινα θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ θείας, καὶ εὐσεβοῦς. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 103. A. B.

[6] And here the Greek leaves us, but joins us again, ib. C., with some slight variations.

[7] The Syr. has ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕ, which, however, ought evidently to be read ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕ: that is, not ܠ̊ܗ ܕ̊, but ܠ̊ܗ · ܕ̊, &c. alluding perhaps to 1 Cor. ii. 6.

[8] Comp. also, ib. p. 106. seq.

deities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that "*wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all*[1]."

4. If then those ancient friends of God,—those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly borne testimony,—did raise the act of worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God—as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers,—to all mankind! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodox[2] faith respecting God; but thousands[3] of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece,—of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction!

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals? Neither with blood and fire, nor with

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[1] This is also cited, (ib. p. 104. A.) thus:

"Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἠδ' ἄρ Εβραῖοι,
Αὐτογένεθλον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγνῶς."

Lat. "Solis Chaldæis sapientia contigit, atque
"Hebræis, qui ex se genitum, regemque Deumque
"Purâ mente colunt, atque unum numen adorant."

It is cited again, Prep. Evang. Lib. IX. cap. x. p. 413. C. with the slight variation of *σοφίαν*, for *σοφίην*. Other oracles are given from Porphyry, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. vi. p. 134. B. C.

[2] Syr. ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, lit. *the right opinion* of God: which, I have no doubt, is a periphrasis of the Greek ἡ ὀρθοδοξία ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. See the note to the heading of sect. 34, Book IV.

[3] The Syriac word used here is, ܪܒܘܒܐ, lit. *myriads:* but, as it is applied very much as our word *thousand* is, to express any large indefinite number, I have occasionally so translated it.

incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly; and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal?—determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice?—inculcated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat[4].

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers;—they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians,

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[4] Abundant testimony, to this effect, is adduced, Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. capp. x. xi. &c. from Porphyry and Theophrastus; and again, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 105, &c.

or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads[1]; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear[2], or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men)?—

7. And[3], that[4] after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance,—things from which we cannot be exempt,—which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive? Did He not rather stimulate (men) to hasten on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician?—But, let us also investigate these things.—

8. [5]When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he make

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[1] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 106. C.... "τῶν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότων; οἵ μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν διαφέρειν ἀπεφήναντο ἔμπιδός τε καὶ εὐλῆς, καὶ μυίας τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ψυχήν."... "qui supercilia contracta ostentant, si nihil plane ea parte qua est, differe à culice aut vermiculo, aut musca animam humanam affirmant? Hence it should seem that the Syr. ,—which is not found in the Lexicons,—must signify, i. q. ἐμπὶς, *culex:* i. e. a sort of *gnat*, or *musquito.*

[2] Syr. ̈ , which probably should be ̈ *bears:* the former occurring before, and which I have translated "*reptiles.*" Demonstr. Evang. ib. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄφεως, καὶ ἐχίδνης, ἄρκτου τε καὶ παρδάλεως, καὶ συὸς ψυχῆς κατ' οὐδέν. κ. τ. λ.

[3] Ib. C. D. with some slight variations.

[4] As continued from the preceding section, and requiring ,, "we know that we are taught by Him," to be thence supplied.

[5] Matter nearly allied to this is to be found, ib. p. 125. seq. The place, however, occurs ib. p. 126. D. where it stands thus: "γόης, ὅταν

them? Is it not to magicians, deceivers, and fabricators of magical drugs,—in all respects like himself? Was there ever, then, a man found among the whole Christian race, who fabricated magical rites or drugs, from the doctrine of our Saviour? There is no (such thing) existing for any man to say; but, the contrary to this, that they have been seen passing over to the precepts of the philosophy which is Divine. How then, can He be justly styled other, in truth, than the Teacher of the life which worships God, the common Saviour of all,—who became throughout the whole habitable world, and to all nations, the (sole) cause of purity and of holiness of life, and of the knowledge (inculcating) the worship of the Creator of all things?

9. Those[6] too, who adhered to Him from the first, as well as those who afterwards received the traditionary account of the manner of their conversation, were, as to all these matters, so far removed from suspicion of evil and bitterness, that they did not even allow the sick to do many things which the many dared to do; either, that they should write (charms) upon tablets, or make use of amulets[7]; or, that they should in their minds have respect to those who promised to use enchantments; or, that they should prescribe for the persons (of the sick), as cures for complaints, either the fumes of roots, or of apples, or of any other similar things. All these things were therefore, excluded from the doctrine of our Saviour: nor was there ever a Christian to be found who used amulets[8], or enchant-

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ἑτέροις τὰ τῆς κακίας μεταδιδῶ ὁπηίους ἄνδρας κατασκευάζει; ἆρ' οὐχὶ γοήτας καὶ πλάνους καὶ φαρμακοὺς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα παραπλησίους;" I give the place, because the Syriac is obscure.

[6] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 127. B.

[7] Syr. ... ol. The term ... occurs in no Syriac Lexicon to which I have access. I have no doubt, however, it is derived from ..., whence in Aphel the part. ..., and pl. ..., *exorcists*, Acts xix. 13: which would, in context such as this, rather signify persons using magical rites, or the like. The Greek has: "καὶ περιάμμασι χρῆσθαι." lit. *and to use amulets*. See Steph. Thesaur. sub voce. Demonstr. Evang. ib. C.

[8] Syr. ..., as above. Gr. "περίαμματι χρώμενον."

ments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art and science, to whom He was the cause of their (christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects). For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments!

10. And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice[1].

11. But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own "*Acts*." They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these,—who formerly accused them of magic,—so entirely changed their conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the

[1] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 128. A., but much more full in the Greek. Our author seems to mean; No magician would have ever suffered martyrdom, as His Disciples did, because he could have experienced no difficulty in sacrificing to idols.

assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus:—

12. "*The*[2] *greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand*" (pieces of silver).

13. Such[3] therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour, and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls;—were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted in their change from vice to virtue. Since[4] therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such, Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions: those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor[5] was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also

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[2] Acts xix. 19. The citation agrees neither with the Peschito, nor the Philoxenian Version; but, as before, was translated afresh from the Greek. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. C.

[3] Demonstr. Evang. ib. C. [4] Ib. D. [5] Ib. p. 129. A. B.

tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desires[1] to all holiness and to virginity[2]. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus[3]. They also express their astonishment at one Crates[4], who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then

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[1] Syr. ܐܫܬܡܥ, which must either be a derivative of ܫܡܥ, or a word cognate with it. The Gr. has, *ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιηκυῖαι.*

[2] Demonstr. Evang. "*τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων ἀνατεθείκασιν, ἁγνείαν παντελῆ καὶ παρθενίαν ἀσκήσασθαι:*" which, it must be confessed, savours, to some extent, of the attachment to monastic institutions so unhappily prevalent in the days of our author.

[3] He was, as some think, the real originator of the Epicurean sect, and author of the doctrine of Atoms. Cicero says of him, (Tusc. Quest. Lib. v. c. xxxix.) just as Eusebius does here: "An, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipse Democritus, agros at patrimonia sua reliquissent; huic discendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto se animo dedissent." And Horace, (Epist. Lib. i. 12, 12.) speaking of him as a shepherd; "Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox." See also his life by Diogenes Läertius: whence it should seem that he was a man of most extensive erudition, having written books on Morality, Physics, Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, Music, Poetry, Medicine, Agriculture, Painting, Tactics, on the Sacred Literature of Babylon, Chaldean History, Navigation, &c.

[4] Syr. &c. ܟܪܛܝܣ ܕܣܝܢܝܩܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܒܩ ܢܟܣܘܗܝ ܠܒܢܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ. This is, no doubt, the Theban Crates whose life is given in Diogenes Läertius, (Lib. vi. segm. 85): where we have, "*τοῦτον φησὶν Ἀντισθένης ἐν διαδοχαῖς θεασάμενον ἔν τινι τραγῳδίᾳ Τήλεφον σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα, καὶ τἆλλα λυπρὸν, αἴξαι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν. ἐξαργυρισάμενόν τε τὴν οὐσίαν, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν) ἀθροίσαντα πρὸς τὰ ἑκατὸν διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις ἀνεῖναι ταῦτα, αὐτὸν δὲ καρτερῶς οὕτω φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλήμονα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι, φησὶ γοῦν,*

"Καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ἱμάτιον δασύ,
Ἵν' ἐγκρατὴς ᾖ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ῥάκος."

took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour. And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God's worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Creator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that

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"Hunc ait Antisthenes in successionibus, cùm in Tragœdia quadam cerneret Telephum sportulam tenentem, ad cynicam philosophiam prorupisse, illúmque patrimonio vendito, erat quippe vir nobilis, cùm congregasset circiter ducenta talenta, civibus ea divisisse: adeóque constanter philosophatum esse, ut et Philémon comicus ipsius mentionem fecerit: ait nempe:

> "Æstate crassum vestiebat pallium
> Sed hyeme pannum, ut temperans evaderet."

See also Plutarch, "*De vitando ære alieno,*" p. mihi, 831. ib. p. 466. His love of liberty, ib. p. 499. Tom. II. Edit. 1620. Bruckeri Hist. Philosoph. Crit. Tom. I. p. 888, &c. The whole of this is also found in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. VI. p. 129. C. Ed. 1628. Origen is, perhaps, the first among the Fathers who cites both these cases: i.e. that of Democritus and that of Crates, Contra Celsum. Lib. II. p. 84. On both, see also, notæ Hoeschelii ad Orig. ib. Edit. Spencer.

they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver[1]! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances; from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was.

15. Come[2] then, let us again try the matter thus,—You say of Him that He was a magician; and not (only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom[3], ascribe the cause to the Teachers[4]? If then He was the first and only one capable of this;—no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the ancients;—How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach him. But, if He was out of nature;—and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and)

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[1] Ib. p. 130. B. [2] Ib. p. 130. B. C., &c.

[3] The Syr. has ܒܟܡ̈ ܕܣܠܩ̈, which I would read ܒܟܡ̈ ܕܣܠܩ̈, not doubting that the supernumerary points are owing to the carelessness of some copyist.

[4] The Greek stands thus: "ἢ πάντας που κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον εἰς διδασκάλους ἀναπέμπειν χρὴ τὰ αἴτια;" where our translator does not seem to have read πάντας in his copy.

whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him;—What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature[5]?

16. But, you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description[6].—If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere[7]; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour?—The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those

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[5] The Mohammedans urge an argument of this sort in favour of their Prophet, from a fancied inimitability in the elegance of the Koran; which, it is not impossible, they might originally have taken from this, or some similar Christian, work.

[6] Ib. p. 131. A. seq.

[7] This is, by no means, a supposititious case. "Celsus," says Mr Bingham, (Antiq. Vol. I. Book I. c. ii. sect. 5.) "and others pretended that our Saviour studied magic in Egypt; and St Austin says, it was generally believed among the heathen, that he wrote some books about magic too, which he delivered to Peter and Paul for the use of his disciples. Hence it was that Suetonius, speaking in the language of his party, calls the Christians, *Genus hominum superstitionis maleficæ, the men of magical superstition.* As Asclepiades, the judge in Prudentius, styles St Romanus the martyr, the Arch-magician. And St Ambrose observes in the Passion of St Agnes, how the people cried out against her, "away with the sorceress! away with the enchanter!" See also the note to Book IV. sect. 31, above. Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. pp. 22, 30. Lib. II. p. 89, &c.

predictions? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered? and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His predictions is visible to our own eyes? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done?—who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and, that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which[1] of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enouncement to His Disciples, "*Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you*[2]." And the deed He made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our

[1] Demonstr. Evang. p. 131. D.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 19—20. Cited evidently from memory.

Saviour were not written in any Book of His; but, without book[3], were disseminated at His command among all nations; (and) these were opposed to the ancient worship of a plurality of Gods:—laws at enmity with the Demons, and unfriendly to every error of a multitude of Deities:—laws purifying the Scythians, the Persians, and other Barbarians, and converting (them) from every savage, and lawless sort of life:—laws subversive of the customs, which had obtained from ancient times among the Greeks, and teaching the new and genuine worship of God. How then have they dared so (to advance) such things as these, that one should say of Him, that He was probably aided (in) this magic by others,—the ancient magicians,—who were before His times[4]? But, if there was no other person, whom any one could say resembled Him; neither was there consequently, who could have been the cause of His possessing all this superiority.—It is now time therefore that we should confess, that an extraordinary and Divine Nature came into the world, which first and alone performed the things which had never before been commemorated among men.

18. Let us again ask, after these things, Whether any one ever saw with his eyes, or learned by hearing, that there were magicians such as He was, and composers of

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[3] Let it not be imagined that this favours the modern doctrines about unwritten tradition. The Apostles were,—be it remembered,—*divinely* inspired expressly for this work, and for inditing those Scriptures which are the *main* sources of divine truth to the Christian Church. And, although Irenæus (Lib. II. cap. ii. p. 200. Edit. Grabe) speaks of *Tradition*, not written, but delivered vivâ voce; it is evident enough, that he intends to ascribe to this no independent authority: for in the very same context he informs us, that the Heretics, against whom he was writing, were found, when opposing this Tradition, resisting the declarations also of the Scriptures. Ancient Tradition, when found accordant with the Scriptures, may indeed be relied on; but, it is from an examination of it by the Scriptures alone, that we can know it to be good.

[4] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. vi. p. 132. B. where the Gr. stands thus: "τί δῆτα οὖν τοῖς πάλαι γόησι πρὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ χρόνων, ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοιοῦτον, ἢ καὶ παραπλήσιον τετόλμηται, ὡς εἰκότως φάναι αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων ὠφελῆσθαι τὰ τῆς γοητείας;" of which the Syriac is as servile a rendering, and, at the same time, as obscure an one, as perhaps can be imagined.

(magical) drugs[1], who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons:—that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon? And thus the word of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry[2]; and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, "*What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? Art thou come to torment us before the time?*"

[1] Syr. ܒܟܝܦ ܣܡܩܛܪ, for the Gr. *φαρμακέας*.

[2] The Greek of this occurs, ib. D. but has no equivalent to our Syriac, ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܫ.

19. Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only,—and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base,—in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious? And being such, Whence, and How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity? or, which concern the knowledge of God? or, which are on the immortality of the soul? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary[3]. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God[4]?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples

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[3] The Greek here, as often in other places, exceeds our Syriac text, which induces me to believe, that our work was written prior to this. Ib. p. 133. C.

[4] The Greek leaves us here, ib. D.

have fabricated these same; it is now time that we should also meet this accusation.

Against those who do not believe the testimony of the Disciples of our Saviour, respecting His miraculous deeds.

21. If[1] then (these) should say of Him, that He wrought no complete miracle, nor yet any of those wonderful works of which His disciples bore testimony, but that His disciples have otherwise falsely stated them, and have lied for the purpose of putting forth miraculous relations about Him; let us see whether the word of these is to be taken as satisfactory: there being no (earthly) cause that they can assign, why they the Disciples, and He their master, went forth into the world. For He who teaches, gives a promise of some doctrine[2]: and they again, the Disciples, love both the precepts and doctrines, as if (conveying) some (valuable) art[3], and give themselves up (accordingly) to the Teacher. What ground therefore, can there be for any one to speak against the disciples of our Saviour, on account of their conversation with Him? And, What could have pressed them to this care respecting Him, and that they should have recorded Him (as) the teacher of such doctrines to themselves? Or, Is (not) this clear? For the things which they learned of Him, they also declared fully to others: and these were the appointments of this His philosophy. They[4] were too, the first ambassadors of God

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[1] Demonstr. Evang. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 109. C. seq. with some slight variations. A similar argument is pressed by Arnobius adversus Gentes. Lib. I. p. 32. Edit. 1604.

[2] See Book IV. par. 27, where He informs them of what they should suffer for His sake. The Greek has here: "ὅ, τε γὰρ διδάσκων, ἐπαγγελίαν Μαθήματός τινος ἐπαγγέλλεται, οἵτε αὖ Μαθηταὶ, μαθεμάτων ὀρεγόμενοι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ διδασκάλῳ." κ. τ. λ. The Syriac has, ܗܘ ܕܡܠܦ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܘܠܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܕܡܬܠܡܕ ܡܢ ܪܒܗ ܘܡܬܠܡܕ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ, where it is obvious, that ܠܗ, as in some other instances, ought to be read for ܠܗܘ.

[3] This does not occur in the Greek.

[4] This does not occur in the Greek, ib. The Syr. is worth remarking here, ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܘܐܫܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܕܪ ܘܡܫܕܪ, where, I think,

who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture. It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "*Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way*[5]," with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governour of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, —as for men to whom murder would be easy,—that they should not kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent[6]. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz.) that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion; that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none,

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it is obvious the Disciples must be meant. In this case then, ܠܬܠܡܝܕ should be written with ribbui, implying the plural number, and ܐܡܪ, be taken impersonally, as it is often the case in this work.

[5] Matt. x. 10. Differing, as before, from the Peschito.

[6] This last clause is not found in the Greek, ib. p. 110. A., where the rest is found.

but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger[1]. But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught? He also counselled them,—together, with all these things,—that they should be so confirmed in the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart from every sort of oath[2], they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than "*yea*[3]" (yea), and should in their conversation truly apply this.

22. We[4] may ask therefore, whether there is any thing—whatever it might be—against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him:—of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This[5] is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples; and so, as it were in a relation of

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[1] So the Sermon on the mount, generally, Matt. v. seq.

[2] The Greek has, ὡς μηδ' εὐορκίας δεῖσθαι, πολλοῦ δεῖ ἐπιορκεῖν.

[3] Matt. v. 37. The Greek however has, "μέχρι τοῦ ναὶ, καὶ τοῦ οὒ, χωροῦντας."

[4] Ib. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 110. C. seq.

[5] Ib. D. seq.

hypothesis[6] that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (viz.); that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named[7]. Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches[8]. But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (viz.) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us!—Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed[9]. And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is pure[10], and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice[11] previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) might

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[6] Syr. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܕܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ. Gr. "εἴθ' ὡς ἐν ὑποθέσει λόγου."

[7] The Greek has something more here, ib. p. 111. A.

[8] Our text here exceeds the Greek.

[9] Ib. p. 111. A.

[10] Syr. ܕܡܣܬܪܐ ܢܨܒܐ. Gr. σεμνῆς διδασκαλίας. We need not, therefore, suppose with Michaelis (Lex. p. 566.) that ܢܨܒ is the true reading.

[11] The Gr. ib. "Διὰ τὸ προαλὲς τῆς κακίας, καί αὐτοδιδακτὸν αὐτῆς." Lat. "Propterea videlicet quod magna est ad malitiam proclivitas." Syr. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ ܡܠܦ ܠܗ lit. *Because vice previously ensnares,* and, &c. taking προαλὲς as if compounded of πρὸ and ἁλισκω: which is certainly wrong.

wonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see,—if they really were such,—whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that "*Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good*[1]." Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (viz.), that the object of them all was in unison? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man? Whence too, all this power? Whence this courage? Whence this confidence? Whence this resignation even to death[2]?—But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness,—as it is (here) said of Him,—and who promised such things? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician[3]. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master? and, by what sort of Death he was affected? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things? and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable[4]? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also of

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[1] Gr. ib. B. "κακῷ δε κακὸν οὔ φασιν εἶναι φίλον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγαθῷ," where our translator read not οὔ, and took κακῷ, &c. in an abstract sense. A sentiment not unlike this occurs in Origen, contra Cels. Lib. 1. p. 11. "φίλη γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια."

[2] Much here not found in the Gr. ib.

[3] Ib. C. with some variations.

[4] Ib. D. Our text exceeds the Greek considerably here.

profit: and, if they had been abominable in character, they would have been lustful. We may then think of them perhaps, that they had thus dealt with the matter for the sake of these things, and intrepidly exposed[5] themselves even to death! But, if they preached what was adverse to these, and fully proclaimed (it) in the hearing of all the congregations (of Christians); and also, immediately instructed (men) in the doctrine of the Scriptures, (viz.) that they should flee from every vicious and base desire; should avoid every thing fraudulent; should overcome every sort of lust, and the love of money; and that they did moreover, so teach those who became their disciples; it will be likely that they carried on no merchandize, collected no wealth, and took no part in a life either of ease, or of pleasure. Since therefore, they were led by none of these things; How could they have been induced to suffer, for no object, the worst of punishments and of vengeance, for the testimony given of their Master, which, again, had no foundation in fact?

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[5] Syr. ܦܪܘܒܘܠܝܐ. This word occurs in no Syriac Lexicon accessible to me. It is, however, beyond all doubt, the "*Parabolarii*," i. q. "Parabolani" of the Latins, and Παράβολοι of the Greeks. The following is Bingham's account of the term. (Ant. Christ. Church, Book I. c. ii. sect. 9.)..."They" (the heathen) "gave them" (the Christians) "the names of *Parabolarii* and *Desperati, the bold and desperate men*, The *Parabolarii* or *Parabolani* among the Romans, were those bold adventurous men who hired out themselves to fight with wild beasts, upon the stage or amphitheatre, whence they had also the name of *Bestiarii* and *Confectores*. Now, because the Christians were put to fight for their lives in the same manner, and they rather chose to do it than deny their religion, they therefore got the name of *Paraboli* and *Parabolani;* which, though it was intended as a name of reproach and mockery, yet the Christians were not unwilling to take it to themselves, being one of the truest characters that the heathens ever gave them," &c. And, again, (Book III. c. ix. sect. 3.) "These were those whom the Romans called *Bestiarii*, and sometimes *Paraboli* and *Parabolarii*, from the Greek word Παραβάλλεσθαι, which signifies exposing a man's life to danger, as they that fought with wild beasts did...and it is the opinion of Gothofred and some other learned critics, that the ancient reading of the Greek copies of...Phil. ii. 30, was 'Παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ,' exposing his life to danger, as an old Latin interpreter of Puteanus renders it, '*Parabolatus de animâ suâ.*' See also Wetstein on the place. This name was also given to some officers of the Church, who thus adventured their lives in visiting the sick." Bingham, ib.

25. But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How[1] was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men, they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends[2]? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving[3], submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but—as men say,—the Teacher of every evil? A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the Disciples of the (Person) mentioned,—who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining in

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[1] Gr. ib. D. The arguments here replied to, will generally be found in Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 87, &c.

[2] Ib. p. 112. A.

[3] Syr. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܥܬܥ, Gr. "πλάνοι δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες."

themselves every vice that was hateful,—have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For[4] I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists,—brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words,—load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words; and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power.

26. If[5] then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this? By What power too, did they effect that which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray. But, that they (the Disciples) should be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man[6], together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities;—some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of these

[4] Not in the Gr. ib. C.

[5] Ib. (Demonstr. Evang.) p. 112. C., with some variations.

[6] Comp. Ep. Col. i. 23, and see the note above, Book iv. par. 36.

should go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain[1];—could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of deceivers and magicians?

27. How[2] then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter,—and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death,—have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him:—

28. And[3] after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends!—Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error,—who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all,—we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples[4] of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and thought that He possessed something better than the many. But

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[1] Syr. ܒܪܛܢܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, see above, Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 112. D. Gr. "τὰς καλουμένας βρεττανικὰς νήσους."

[2] Ib. p. 113. A.

[3] Ib. p. 113. B., with some varieties.

[4] Syr. ܒܢܝ, lit. children. Gr. "μύσται τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοι." ib. B.

He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection; unless one might say, that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boastings which was favourable to such things;—come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood[5] respecting Him, and will say, that we saw "*Him give sight to the blind*," a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of[6]; and that "*He cleansed the lepers*," and "*Raised the dead.*" And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death!—For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing[7]? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary? And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instantaneously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the

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[5] Gr. *σύμφωνον*, ib. C.

[6] The Gr. adds, "*ὃ οὐδείς ποθ' ἡμῶν ἱστόρησε· καὶ κωφοῖς τὴν ἀκοὴν παρασχεῖν.*"

[7] Ib. p. 114. A. Gr. "*τί γὰρ καὶ ἄτοπον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀποθνήσκειν;—*"

things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say), which had from ancient times been established among them: and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men: that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific: and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting: For the reward[1] pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphs[2] to which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, torments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking) in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this[3], that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable? And also, that we should obtain nothing of ease? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth? nor even possess the hope of any good to perfection? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object err

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[1] Syr. ܐܓܪܐ. Gr. "ὁ ἆθλος." Ib. p. 114. D.

[2] Syr. ܙܟܘܬܐ ܕܢܨܚܢ. Gr. "τὰ τυχόντα βραβεῖα."

[3] Syr. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܠܛܒ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ. Gr. "τί γὰρ τούτων γένοιτ' ἂν κάλλιον." Demonstr. Evang. ib.

ourselves, and lead others (also) astray? For this is the helpful thing (had in view), that we should both be opposed to all nations, and also engaged in contention with those Gods, whom all men have from ancient times confessed: and, that we should preach of Him who was our Teacher, and who died before our eyes, that He was God, and the Son of God: and that we ourselves should be ready to die for Him, having learned from him nothing true, and nothing advantageous! And that we should particularly honour Him, because He aided us in nothing excellent: and should moreover do every thing in order to glorify His name; suffer every sort of injury and vengeance, and willingly receive every form of punishment for nothing that is true! For[4], evil certainly is truth, and falsehood has that which is opposed to vice. On this account we say, that "*He even raised the dead, also cleansed the lepers, also cast out Demons, and was the doer of other wonderful works*," when we know of no such things done by Him, but have fabricated all these things for ourselves; and (thus) led all astray, on whom we could prevail to do so! But, if any one would not be (so) persuaded, still we ourselves should,—for the sake of the things which we had (so) bargained upon among ourselves,—have brought forth upon ourselves the things worthy of such a system of error.

29. And[5] Do these things appear to you as convincing? And, Can you so far persuade yourself, that they (His Disciples) did falsely put forth such things as these? And, that men so deficient and unlettered, did actually make (such) compact among themselves, and (triumphantly) walk over the power of the Romans? Could human nature, possessed as it is with the love of life, have ever submitted, for no object and of its own will, to death? Or, Could the Disciples of our Saviour have been carried on to such an excess of madness, that they should at once,—when they had seen no act of a miraculous character performed by Him,—have falsely put forth by compact such things as these?

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[4] Ib. p. 115. B. The Gr. "κακὸν γὰρ ἴσως ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος ἔχει τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἐναντίον." Syr. ܟܐܢ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܫܘܩܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܗܝ ܕܫܘܩܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܒܝܫܐ.

[5] Ib. p. 115. C.

And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them?

30. But[1] they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him?—For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles, and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord?

31. But[2], How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped[3], that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbarians. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly

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[1] Wanting in the Gr. ib. [2] Demonstr. Evang. ib. D.

[3] Gr. "ἀπελπίσαι τὰ πάντα." This is said with reference to the supposition made above.

commanding them, that they should speak to none in the name of Jesus[4]. And, when they found them afterwards openly teaching the multitudes the things respecting Him, they violently seized, and scourged (them), and forbade them (so) to teach; Simon Peter answering said to them, "*It is right that we should rather hearken to God, and not to men*[5]." After these things too, Stephen was stoned with stones, and died; because he had openly spoken (of Him) in the assembly of the Jews[6]. And there arose no small persecution[7] against those, who were the ambassadors of the name of Jesus. And again at another time, when Herod the king of the Jews slew James the brother of John with the sword, he, the same, confined Simon Peter in bonds, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles[8]. And, while these suffered such things, the rest of the Disciples persevered, grew strong, and remained in the doctrine of our Saviour; and again preached to all men more particularly respecting Him, and His wonderful works. After these things, James—whom those who formerly resided at Jerusalem called "*the Just*," on account of his great excellence,—was interrogated of the chief priests and doctors of the Jewish people, as to what he thought of Jesus; and, when he returned answer to them, that "*He was the Son of God*[9]," he was also stoned with stones by them[10]. Simon Peter too, was, after his[11] Head (i. e. Christ), crucified at Rome. Paul also was taken off[12] (slain,) and John was committed to the island (Patmos in banishment[13]). And, while these suffered such things, not so much as one of the

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[4] Acts iv. 17, 18. [5] Ib. 19. [6] Ib. ch. vii.
[7] Ib. ch. viii. 1. seq. [8] Ib. ch. xii. 2. seq.
[9] So Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 69.
[10] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. cap. xxiii. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. v. p. 116. B. C. Syr. ܐܬܬܠ, for the Greek ἀνηρέθη, probably.
[11] Eccl. Hist. cap. xxv. Gr. "ἀποτέμνεται."
[12] Ib. cap. xviii. Gr. "νήσῳ παραδίδοται."
[13] Gr. "κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται." Lat. "capite in terram verso cruci affigitur." Syr. ܒܪܝܫ ܨܠܝܒ ܐܬܬܠ. Our translator seems not to have been aware of the ellipsis of the Greek, viz. κατὰ κεφαλῆς κάτω: or, which is the same thing, of this Attic usage. See also our author's Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. cap. i.

rest forsook His (Christ's) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour, and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

32. And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death. And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even he, who,—filled with the love of money,—dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself[1]!

33. Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered[2], knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law;—and the law of God has declared that[3] "*in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be established*[4]"—Shall not the truth also be established by these, who were the chosen twelve, and

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[1] This was Judas, Matt. xxvi. 14; xxvii. 3, &c. Syr. ܗܘ ܕܟܠ̈ܝܬܗ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ, Gr. "καθ' ἑαυτοῦ...τὴν δίκην ἐπεσπάσατο." Where the Syr. seems to require, ܗܘ ܕܟܠ̈ܝܬܗ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ. This is, I think, an instance of impure Syriac: but it might be the error of some copyist.

[2] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 117. Gr. ἰδιώτας.

[3] This clause does not appear in the Greek.

[4] Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

the Disciples seventy in number, and thousands of others besides these, all of whom at once exhibited (so) wonderful an agreement, and who have (so) given their testimony to the things done by our Saviour? This too they did, not without affliction[5]; but in the suffering of torments, and of every species of injury, of scourgings, imprisonment, and deaths! On this account they were through God[6] believed, in order that (He) might everywhere confirm the word preached, by their means, throughout the whole habitable world, even to this day!

34. Let[7] it be considered then, that we have granted these things, by connivance at an unjust principle. For (in) this, that a man might imagine that which is adverse to the Scripture, and, that we should say of the common Saviour of all that He was a Teacher, not of righteous precepts, but of those of vice, fraud, and of every sort of abomination; and, that these His Disciples learned the same from Him, and were all lustful and vicious in every thing, beyond all men that ever existed; we allowed, by connivance, according to the statement (supposed), that which is of all things the most improper. For this would be, as if one should in a similar manner, injuriously accuse Moses who said in the law, "*Thou shalt not kill; neither shalt thou commit adultery; neither shalt thou steal*; *neither shalt thou bear false witness;*" and should say, that he uttered these things by way of irony[8] and in hypocrisy; for, it was his wish (nevertheless) that his hearers should kill, commit adultery,

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[5] Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. Gr. *οὐκ ἀνιδρωτὶ.*

[6] *ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρτυρηθέντων.*

[7] Ib. p. 117. C. The Syriac is obscure here, which stands thus: ܗܠܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܢܬܒܨܝ ܠܟܘܢ (ܠܡܬܒܨܝ) ܠܡܬܒܨܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܪܫ ܕܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ, lit. *These things then, have been investigated,* or, *let them be* (thought) *investigated,* (as) *that we have given to them, by connivance, a beginning which is not in propriety.* The Gr. has, "*ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀρχῆς ἀτόπου κατὰ συγχώρησιν δοθείσης γεγυμνάσθω.*" The Latin. trans. not very closely, "*Hæc igitur satis ex concessione tam absurdi principii, nobis meditata sint.*"

[8] Syr. ܐܝܪܘܢܝܐ. This word (ܐܝܪ) is given in no Dictionary in a sense suitable to this place. The Gr. has, *εἰρωνείᾳ, by an irony.*

and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life!—But there is nothing so shameless as this! In like manner also, might any one arraign the positions[1] of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote; and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching.—But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow)?

35. These[2] things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body

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[1] Syr. ܐܝ ܕܒܕܝܢ ܕܒܕܘܫܗ. Demonstr. Evang. p. 117. D.

[2] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 118. B.

and soul[3]. And, Who is not astonished at this, that they should, for the sake of the excellency of wisdom, have even separated themselves from the wives that had been lawfully given to them? and that they were led by no natural desire, and subdued by no love of children; since they desired not the children that were mortal, but those which were immortal? And, How can any one fail to wonder at this their character, that they desired no money? or (How) imagine this, that they fled not from, but loved, a Teacher who despised the possessions of gold and silver? and the Lawgiver, who laid it down that they should not enlarge their possessions even to two coats[4]? which any one hearing, would doubtless seek excuse from its severe requirements; while they were seen to act upon it, even to the letter! For, upon a certain occasion a lame man—one of those who begged, on account of the extreme doubt[5] as to provision,—asked (alms) of those who were about Simon Peter: and, when Simon Peter had nothing that he could give, he confessed that he was destitute (lit. clean) of every sort of possession of silver and gold, and said, "*Silver and gold have I none*[6]." After this he brought forth the precious name,—which is of all things the most precious,—and said, "*This which I have give I to thee. In the name of Jesus the Christ, arise and walk.*"

36. And[7], when they attended to their Teacher, (Jesus) enjoined upon them the grievous things, (which should happen to them) in these words which He said to them, (viz.) "*In the world ye shall have tribulation*[8];" and again—"*Ye shall weep and mourn, but the world shall*

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[3] ... Gr. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 118. B.C. "δι' ἄκρας σωφροσύνης καὶ ἁγνείας σώματος ὁμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς κατορθούμενον (i.e. *βίον.*)" The last portion of the period, viz. ..., has nothing corresponding to it in the Greek, ought perhaps to be construed with ..., in the outset of the sentence, thus, *and they desired that life may be capable of becoming, &c.*

[4] Matt. x. 10, &c.

[5] Syr. ..., Gr. ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν. Ib. p. 118. D.

[6] Acts iii. 6. [7] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 119. A. [8] John xvi. 33.

rejoice[1]," How plainly did the firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz.) "*that they should come before governours, and even kings*[2];" and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers. And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in (their) place; and with these we will conclude[3] our discussion.

37. As to Matthew the Apostle[4] his former manner

[1] John xvi. 20. [2] Mark ix. 13. Luke xxi. 12.

[3] Syr. ܣܝܡ̈ܢ, which perhaps ought to be ܣܝܡ̈ܘ. The Greek is quite different.

[4] See the note to the next paragraph. Demonst. Evang. Lib. III. p. 119. D. seq. with certain variations.

of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken:—

38. "[5] *And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples.*" And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-gatherer, and spoke thus: "*The*[6] *names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer.*" Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this[7]. Hear therefore how Luke

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[5] Matt. ix. 9—11. As before, differing considerably from the Peschito.

[6] Matt. x. 2, 3.

[7] An extract from the original Greek of this place, having been preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and kindly communicated to me, (see Book IV. sect. 6, above,) I shall now give it as before (l. c.) "Fol. 375. v. Ενσε$^{B'}$. εὐαγγελ^{-} θεοφ^{ά}: (hæc rubrica excipit locum Lucæ de vocatione Levi:) Ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ ἁπλαστον καὶ φιλάληθες ἦθος.

bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these: "*And*[1], *when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and*

καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ματθαίου. οὗτος γὰρ τὸν πρότερον βίον, οὐκ ἀπὸ σεμνῆς διατριβῆς ὡρμᾶτο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς τελωνίας καὶ πλεονεξίας σχολαζόντων. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελϊστῶν οὐδεὶς δῆλον ἡμῖν ἐποίησεν. οὐκ ὁ συναπόστολος αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης. οὐδέ γε λουκᾶς. οὐδὲ μάρκος οἱ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελίων συγγραφεῖς. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν λουκᾶς συγκαλλύπτων τὸ ὄνομα τῇ ἀρχαιοτέρα προσηγορία κατεχρήσατο. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ ματθαῖος. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στηλιτεύων ὕ̓γον" (lego βίον.) "καὶ κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενος, ὀνομαστὶ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ μεμνημένος. ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ συγγράμματι τόνδ' ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον. καὶ παράγων ἐκεῖθεν ὁ ΙC. εἶδεν ἄνον" (ἄνθρωπον) καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελωνϊον ματθαῖον ὀνόματι, ἐλέγχων ἑαυτοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἵνα θαυμάσης τὴν τέχνην τοῦ ἰατρεύσαντος. καὶ πάλιν προϊὼν ἑξῆς, τόν τε κατάλογον τῶν λοιπῶν μαθητῶν ἐξαριθμούμενος, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ τελώνου προστίθησιν ὄνομα. δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιεικείας· μὴ ἐπικρύπτων τὸν πρότερον αὐτοῦ βίον. (Fol. 376 r.) καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἑαυτὸν συναριθμεῖ. καὶ τοῦ συναποστόλου, δεύτερον ἑαυτὸν καταλέγει. συνεζευγμένος γοῦν τῷ θωμᾷ, ὡς πετρος ἀνδρέα. καὶ ἰάκωβος ἰωάννῃ, φίλιππός τε καὶ βαρθολομαῖος. προτάττει ἑαυτοῦ τὸν θωμᾶν. προτιμῶν ὡς κρείττονα τὸν συναπόστολον. τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελϊστῶν τουναντίον πεποιηκότων: — Sequitur et hoc loco rubrica: γρηγορίου θεολόγ." Dr Kopitar adds, "Nota quid si sub Corderii Eusebio et *Theophane*, quem ille e Bessarionis *codice* citat, nec definit, lateat Eusebii θεοφάνεια? E nostro nil amplius apparet. Sed video a Kollarii nota ad Lambecii recensionem, Rich. *Simonem* laudare similem catenam Bibliothecæ Parisinæ."—The Parisian Catena I have no means of examining. The query respecting the Codex of Cardinal Bessarion, I must leave to those who have access to that Codex. On other extracts, found by Signor Mai, see p. 225, above, note. The learned reader will perceive, that in this, as well as the former extract, the "*Iota subscriptum*" is every were omitted: and that, in this extract, a few words have been added by the compiler of the Catena in which it is found. The whole passage is also found, with some variations, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. v. p. 119. D. seq.

[1] Luke vi. 13. seq.

Andrew his brother[2], *James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas.*" Thus therefore Luke honoured Matthew, just as they, who had from the first been eye-witnesses and hearers of the word, had delivered to him[3]. [4]And thus Matthew, through his humility, made little of himself, confessed that he was a Tax-gatherer, and numbered himself the second (in order), after the Apostle who was (named) with him.

39. You[5] will also find that John is like Matthew (in this respect); for in his Epistle[6] he does not so much as make mention of himself, or call himself Elder[7] or Apostle, or Evangelist. In the Gospel too, which was written by him, he says of himself that Jesus loved him, but he does not reveal his own name.

40. Simon Peter moreover, did not so much as attempt the writing of a Gospel, on account of his great fear (of responsibility). But Mark, they say, who, being well known to him and his Disciple, put on record the declarations of Simon respecting the deeds of our Saviour. Who,—when

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[2] Syr. ܐܢܕܪܝ ܐܚܘܗܝ, for ܐܢܕܪܝ ܐܚܘܗܝ no doubt, by error of some copyist.

[3] Luke i. 2.

[4] Wanting in the Greek.

[5] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 120. D.

[6] Our author speaks here of the First Epistle of John only: the second and third,—in each of which the Apostle is indeed styled "Elder,"—being suspected as spurious for some time in the Church. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. xxv.—"In the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his Eccelsiastical History, the Second and Third Epistles of St John were not reckoned among the ὁμολογουμενα, but were in the number of the αντιλεγομενα, or books received by some, and rejected by others." Marsh's Michaelis, Vol. vi. sect. i. chap. xxxii.

[7] Ib. "The author neither calls himself John, nor assumes the title of Apostle; but names himself simply 'the Elder,' (ὁ πρεσβυτερος)... St John might with the same propriety call himself πρεσβυτερος, as St Peter called himself συμπρεσβυτερος; and after the death of St Peter, the title ὁ πρεσβυτερος might have been applied exclusively to St John, who was the only Apostle then living." See the whole of this: it. Proleg. Mill. in N. T. Edit. Kuster, sect. 151, 222: also Hammond's and Whitby's Prefaces to the Second Epistle of St John. The Greek however, has here, ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ: which, no doubt, ought to be, ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ αὐτοῦ.

he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz.) when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, "*Thou*[1] *art the Christ*;"—made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): "*But*[2] *you, Whom say ye that I am? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock*[3] *will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys*[4] *of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.*" When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as

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[1] Mark viii. 29.

[2] Matt. xvi. 15—20. Disagreeing in many respects with the Peschito, as before. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 121. A. B.

[3] See above, Book IV. sect. 2, where we have a good explanation of this passage. It is also cited Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. iii. p. mihi. 8. C., also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 121. B.

[4] I would remark here, that by "*binding and loosing,*" can only be meant, the office,—committed primarily to the Apostles, and secondarily to all duly authorized Ministers of Christ—of preaching, *ministerially*, the remission of sins through faith in Him: the fact being, that no one of the Apostles ever did, in his own person, proceed to pronounce pardon of sin on any man, nor, on the other hand, to denounce damnation: this mode of speaking of any thing as done, when the enunciation of it only is intended, being very frequently had recourse to in the Scriptures. See my Heb. Gram. Art. 154, 8; 157, 6, second or third edit.

one of them; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching[5]. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and thence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words): "*And*[6], *when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him; and, when she saw that he was warming* (*himself*), *she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know* (*him*) *not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest: and he went out into the outer court; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing* (*by*);

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[5] Both Estius (in difficil. Script. loc. in Marc. viii. 29.) and Dr Hammond (Annot. on the title of Matt.) have also noticed this, as Eusebius has. (Prep. Evang. Lib. III. cap. vii.) "St Peter's humility," says the former, "would not suffer him to tell these" (honourable) "things to St Mark, when he was writing his Gospel"... "which evidences the great modesty of the Apostle." Dr Hammond:... "He (Peter, and after Him Mark) doth it, (mentions his denial, &c.) *more coldly* than Matthew had done, only ἔκλαιε... Matthew, ἔκλαιε πικρῶς." Jones (on the Canon, Vol. III. p. 65.) well remarks,... "There is not any one single instance in all his Gospel (i. e. Mark's) which tends to advance the honour... of Peter above the rest of the Apostles;... which cannot be accounted for by any way more probable, than supposing that the Apostle did not publish those circumstances which were so much in his favour." He also remarks, that, Peter's working a miracle, in order to pay the tribute, is omitted by Mark. See Matt. xvii. 24. Mark ix. 30—33. Our Lord's saying he would pray for Peter, Luke xxii. 31—32, is also omitted. Peter's humility in not allowing Christ to wash his feet, is also omitted. (John xiii. 6.). Peter's zeal in cutting off the High Priest's servant's ear, John xviii. 10, is also omitted, as is his faith in leaping into the sea, John xxi. 7: also the particular charge to feed His sheep, John xxi. 15: as also the prediction of his martyrdom, John xxi. 18. It is worthy of remark too, that all these omissions were made in *the city of Rome*, where Peter taught, and where Mark, most likely, wrote his Gospel! Surely the Apostle never could have intended to be elevated there as superior to all the Apostles, and head of the whole Christian Church! Is it not probable that his intention was, to guard against the assumption, which he foresaw would be had recourse to?

[6] Mark xiv. 66, to the end: differing from the Peschito, as before.

This (man) also is (one) of them. And he again denied. And again a little after, those who were standing (by) said to Simon, Truly thou art (one) of them; for thou art also a Galilean. But he began to curse and to say, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately, the cock crew the second time." These things Mark wrote; and these, Simon Peter witnessed against himself. For all these things of Mark are, they say, the memorials of the declarations of Peter himself[1].

41. Of[2] those therefore, who excused themselves from saying the things which would contribute to their own good fame, and who recorded against themselves accusations which can never be forgotten, charging themselves with their own foolishness, in things which none of those who came afterwards could have known, had they not been recorded by themselves; How (shall we not assert) they were free from every feeling of self-love, and lying statement? and justly confess of them, that they openly and clearly put forth the proof of an ardent love of truth[3]? Those therefore, who evinced such a character as this,—of whom men thought that they were the authors of falsehood and of lying, and whom they endeavoured to malign as Deceivers;—How are these not (now) found to be a laughing-stock, lovers of hatred and envy, and enemies to the truth? For, How should not those be such, who (insisted) on the things which were guileless, and of no hateful observance; these same (I say), whose characters were true and pure, and who shewed forth their habitual dispositions by their words?—(not) that (men) should say of them, that they were cunning and wily Sophists, and fabricators of things that had no existence, and laid upon their Lord, by way of favour, things which He never did. It does appear to me, that we may well put the question to these, Whether[4] it be right we should give credence to the Disciples of our Saviour, or not? And, if we are not

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[1] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 122. A. [2] Ib. A. seq.

[3] Syr. ܗܘ ܕܢܫܟ ܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ, where the synonomes ܐܡܪ and ܢܫܟ, are accumulated apparently to supply emphasis to the place. Gr. "φιλαλήθους δὲ διαθέσεως σαφῆ καὶ ἐναργῆ τεκμήρια."

[4] Ib. p. 122. C., with some variations.

to give credence to these only, Whether we should to all those also, who have long ago preached the memorial of their conduct and precepts, (both) among the Greeks and the Barbarians; and have committed to writing time after time the victories attending this? And also, Whether it be just to extend credence to others; but to withhold it from them only?—How clearly then, does not the malice of such (opponents) appear!

42. But[5], Why should these have lied respecting their Lord? and have delivered down, in their writings, things of Him which had no existence, as if they had really happened? Why too, should they have falsely stated of Him the sufferings, and (other) grievous things (which He bore)? His betrayal by one word of His Disciple (Judas)? the accusation of those who criminated Him? the ridicule? the contempt of the judgment (passed on Him)? the reproach? the smitings on the face? the scourges laid upon His loins? the crown of thorns which was placed upon Him in reproach? the purple robe which they put upon Him after the manner of a cloke[6]? and, at last, the bearing of His cross, the signal mark of His victory? that He was then affixed to this? that He was pierced[7] both in His hands and feet? that they gave Him vinegar to drink? that one struck Him on the head with a reed? that He was derided of those who looked on Him? Is it right (I say), that we should suppose His Disciples to have falsely stated even these, and many other similar things that are written about Him? Or, that we should believe they truly stated these (disreputable) things? but, that we should not give credence to those which are honourable (to Him)? But, How can this system[8] of contrariety be supported?

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[5] Demonstr. Evang. ib. D.

[6] Gr. ib. χλαμύδος σχήματι.

[7] Syr. ܢܩܝܪ, signifying, according to Castell, "ordinatus est *funiculus margaritarum, monile, ornatus:* loquutus est concinne." Than which nothing can be more foreign to our context. Buxtorf, however, gives in his Chaldaïc and Talmudic Lexicon, col. 325. חָרַז, *Pungere; Figere, Perfigere, Perforare,*" &c. which suits the place well. And so the Gr. ib. "καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καταπειρόμενον." See Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 96.

[8] Syr. ܗܦܟ ܕܣܬܪ. Gr. "ἐναντίον δόγμα."

For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory! Of What sort then, should the reprehension of these be? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz.) that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was "*oppressed*" and "*exceedingly sorrowful*," and was *perturbed in his soul:* or, that they "*forsook Him and fled:*" or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say),—who is preached of,—did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If[1] then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them: because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things, which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone[2], when he dared to give the kiss—the signal of betrayal? And, that he who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, in

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[1] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 123. B. C. with some variations.

[2] Syr. ܐܬܚܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܐܦܐ, Gr. ἀπολιθωθείη, *became a stone.*

truth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that "*He raised the dead*," and was *the doer of wonderful works?* This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him; but, that He did every thing by the Divine power?—That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have withholden their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words:—

(*The testimony*) *of Josephus respecting the Christ.*

44. "At[3] this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of

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[3] Antiq. Jud. Lib. xviii. cap. iv. sect. 3. Edit. Hudson, p. 798, where the passage is thus given, "Γίνεται [a]δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον[b] Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητὴς, [c]διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ [d]ταληθῆ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ [e]ἐπηγάγετο. [f]ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν[g] ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων [h]ἀνδρῶν [i]παρ' ἡμῖν, σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο [j]οἵγε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες, ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων[k] ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα [l]μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. [m]εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε [n]ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον." Hudson has

wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gentiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal ancient men among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross, those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence. For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive: things which, with many others, the Prophets had said respecting Him: so that from thence, and even until now, the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him."

45. If[1] therefore, as (this) author attests of Him,

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has given (ib.) a good list of various readings. It will be sufficient for me to notice those observed by our Syrian translator. This passage is cited by Eusebius both in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. I. cap. xi.), and in his Demonstratio Evangelica (Lib. III. v. p. 124. B.) as may be seen in Hudson. a. So the Syr. ܗ̇ ̣. b. So the Syr. c. Syr. καὶ διδάσκαλος. d. Syr. τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δεχομένων αὐτόν. e. So the Syr. not "*pellexit,*" as in the Latin of Hudson's Edit. f. Syr. καὶ ὁ χριστός. g. Syr. ܒ̣ܣܘ̈ܬ̣ܐ, *insimulatione?* This word I have never met with before in this sense. h. the Syr. adds ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ, οἱ πάλαι, παλαῖοι, or ἀρχαῖοι, if we have not two translations here of the Greek, τῶν πρώτων, which I suspect is the case. i. The Syr. seems to have had τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. j. Syr. seems to have had, οἱ τὸ πρῶτον. k. Probably not in the Greek of our translator. l. Not in the copy of our Syrian. m. The Syr. seems to have read, ὅθεν εἰς ἔτι. n. Did not exist in the Greek of our translator.—See also Fabricii Salutaris Lux Evangelii, cap. ii. p. 16. seq.—It has been very common to suspect this passage as spurious, or as partly so; and some have gone so far as to charge Eusebius with the fraud. See the notes of Valesius to the Eccl. Hist. l. c. above. The chief ground for this suspicion appears to be, Josephus's saying, *This was the Christ*, when, in fact, he was no Christian. But, Is it necessary to suppose this? The Rulers of the Jews must have known that Jesus was the Christ; and yet, they resisted Him, even to the uttermost! They were acquainted with His miracles, and His resurrection. Did they act accordingly? Quite the contrary! Much the same might be said of thousands among ourselves, who willingly give their testimony to the historical fact of Jesus being the Christ, but who are still as little friends to His cause as Josephus was. Whatever may, therefore, be the fact of the case, as to this reading, I do not see how it can be impugned on grounds so fallacious as these. My own impression is, that it is not spurious.

[1] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 124. C. D.

He was the doer of wonderful works, and that He made His Disciples,—not only the twelve Apostles, or the seventy Disciples, but also attached to Himself,—myriads of others both of the Jews and Gentiles; it is clear, that He possessed something excellent beyond the rest of mankind. For, How could He have otherwise attached to Himself the many, both of the Jews and Gentiles, unless He had made use of miracles and astonishing deeds, and of doctrines (till then) unknown? The Book of the Acts of the Apostles also attests, that there were many thousands of the Jews, who were persuaded that He was that Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. It is also on record, that there was a great Church of Christ at Jerusalem, which had been collected from among the Jews, even to the times of its reduction by Hadrian. The first Bishops too who were there, are said to have been, one after another, fifteen (in number), who were Jews[2]; the names of whom are published to the men of that place, even until now. So that by these, every accusation against the Disciples may be undone; since, what was prior to them, and independent of their testimony, these attest of Him, (viz.), that He, the Christ of God, did by means of these wondrous works which He performed, reduce many, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, beneath His power[3].

46. You[4] will also be made acquainted with the Divinity of His power, if you will consider of what nature He was; and how it was that all this superiority of the Divine power (operated) in the overcoming of things exceeding all description. For let it be considered, No one—who ever wished to disseminate his laws, or any strange doctrine among all nations, and, who would shew himself to be a Teacher of the worship of the one supreme God, to all races of men,—would be willing to make use of those as the ministers of his will, who were of all men the most rustic and deficient. And it is likely, one might

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[2] So also p. 259, see the note.

[3] The Demonstr. Evang. leaves us here. Ib. p. 125. A.

[4] Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. vi. p. 135. A., but with considerable variation.

think[1], he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely open[2] their lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes? And, How could they,—destitute of every sort of erudition,—address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing forth of the will of God? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place "*Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men*[3]." And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power[4], and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and reasonable souls; adding, at once to the word "*Follow me, and I will make you*," the Deed, making them both the Doers, and Teachers, of the worship of His God[5]. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle,—which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it[6]. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gave

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[1] Gr. "εἰκός τινα παραλογώτατα ταῦτα αὐτον πεποιηκέναι νομίσαι." Lat. "utpote cum verisimile sit illum censuisse, præter omnem rationem hæc se facturum." Which is incorrect: better perhaps,—and as our Syriac has taken it,—quenquam censuisse, or the like.

[2] Syr. ⟨ܦܬܚ ܦܘܡܗܘܢ⟩, lit. *lift up their lips:* copied perhaps from the Biblical, "*lift up the voice.*" Gr. ib. B. "διᾶραι δυνάμενοι στόμα."

[3] See Book IV. par. 6, above. This matter occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 135. B. C. seq.

[4] John xx. 22. [5] The Greek is different here, ib. C.

[6] The Greek has much more here, ib. D.

to these His powerless Disciples, (viz.) "*Go ye and make Disciples of all nations*[7]!" It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer[8]: How can we do this? For, How can we preach to the Romans? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only? How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this? Or, How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted? (viz.) that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, "*Ye shall conquer in my name*[9]." For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition[10] which He delivered, (viz): "*In my name.*" Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass[11]; as the Apostle has said, "*God*[12] *has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth.*" It is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was

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[7] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 136. A.

[8] The Greek is interrogative here, καὶ πῶς, εἶπον ἂν οἱ Μαθηταί, κ.τ.λ.

[9] Ib. C. This is perhaps, as on some other occasions, the substance only of certain passages, e. g. Mark xvi. 17, 18. John xiv. 13, 14, &c. The Greek however has only, "ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου," *in my name.*

[10] Syr. ⌈ܙܝܕܐ ⌈ܕܬܘܒ, Gr. "προσθήκης δὲ ἀναγκαίας."

[11] This last sentence is wanting in the Greek, with other variations.

[12] Ib. C. D.

hidden from the many, by *His name;* and, (accordingly) He made the addition, "*In my name.*" He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, "*It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations*[1]." Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated: and, just as His promises had been, so DID they make Disciples of the whole race of men! They did go forth from their own land into all nations; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, so that the Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers[2].

47. A man[3] might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour's Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with

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[1] Cited also above, p. 159.

[2] The terms here, are, ܩܘܕܫܐ, and ܩܘܠܐ, respectively. The Syrian Grammarians make this distinction, although it is not constantly adopted, as Castell has shewn. The Greek, however, has, (Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 137. A.) "πατρίοις χαρακτῆρσιν καὶ πατρίῳ φωνῇ."

[3] Ib. p. 137. A.

whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor was their effort[4] small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But, even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things—I say indeed,—His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy; still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by them.

48. But[5], let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God; that, in body, He was human; and that, in his nature, He was no other than THE WORD OF GOD: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone[6], as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him[7] after His death? that He rose from the dead?—Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living[8]? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and

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[4] Syr. ܟܘܢܝܐ, Gr. *αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀγών.*

[5] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 137. C. D.

[6] Gr. ib. "*τίς δ' οὕτως ἠλίθιος ὕπηρχεν.*"

[7] Syr. ܚܙܘ̈ ?, which, no doubt, ought to be ܚܙܘ̈ ?: the Greek having, "*λέγουσιν ἑωρακέναι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον.*" κ. τ. λ. manifestly involving a plurality, from the preceding terms.

[8] This argument is advanced by Celsus: Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 94. seq.

deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort[1], and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons; —nor that these were built in obscure places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, "*Go*[2], *and make Disciples of all nations in my name.*" And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, "*Behold*[3] *I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*" It is stated, more-

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[1] The Syriac has here, ܚܝܠ ܕܫܘܐ: which is perhaps here, as in some other places already noticed, used in the sense of *energy* or *vigour*. The Greek, ib. p. 138. A. has no equivalent. All our author means is probably this, that, looking at such a project of converting the world, with such means simply, how much soever he might be disposed to look candidly on the thing; yet he could not but conclude, that it really promised nothing: i. e. provided other and almighty powers had not been put forth in it.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 19. [3] Ib. ver. 20.

over, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost*[4];" and at another, commanding them, to "*Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons:—freely ye have received, freely give*[5]."

50. Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them; how,—(for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus[6],—those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds; and who then made them (*i. e.* the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought?—And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter[7]: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).

51. If[8] then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could have been

[4] John xx. 22. [5] Matt. x. 8, &c.

[6] This seems to refer to Acts iii. 7, &c. iv. 7, &c.

[7] Acts xiv. 12, &c. [8] Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 139. B. C.

those of men; but, on the contrary, those of God, even the more[1] though no one would say (this).

52. And[2] this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (viz.) by what power[3] the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them: and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of THE WORD OF GOD: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses[4] (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great[5];—that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love[6]; and the traditionary (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved[7]. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From

[1] Syr. ܒܬ, for which we have nothing in the Greek, which stands thus, "κἂν μὴ λέγῃ τίς." [2] Ib. C. D.

[3] Syr. ܒܬ ܫܡ ܗܘܘ ܕܢܨܚܘ. Gr. "ὁποίᾳ δυνάμει." Lat. Trans. "*victores fuerint*," laxly.

[4] Gr. "Διδασκαλεῖα." Lat. "*schola atque auditoria*:" generally, as places of Christian instruction.

[5] See Book III. sect. i. seq. above. [6] Gr. ἀλούσης. Syr. ܐܬܚܡ.

[7] The authors of "The Universal History," tells us, after reciting the amours of Julius Cæsar and of Mark Anthony with Cleopatra, (Vol. IX. p. 480, Edit. 1747,) that "In her ended the family of Ptolemy Lagus, the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, after it had ruled over Egypt, from the death of Alexander, two hundred and ninety four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety three, and three months. For from this time *Egypt* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a prætor sent thither from *Rome*."—On the prophecies of Daniel relating to this period, the work of Sir Isaac Newton on this subject, or Rollin's Ancient History, may be consulted with advantage.

that period too, have the Jewish people been in subjection to the Romans; as has that, in like manner, of the Syrians, the Cappadocians, the Macedonians, the Bithynians, and the Greeks; and, to speak collectively, all the rest of those subject to the rule of the Romans; and, that this did not come to pass without regard to the Divine teaching of our Saviour, Who will not confess, when He has considered, that it would not have been easy for His Disciples to be sent forth, and to pass into foreign parts, when all the nations were divided one against another? and when there was no one uniting element among them, on account of the many Satraps (stationed) in every place, and in every city? But, in the extirpation of these, they immediately, fearlessly, and with pleasure, set about doing that which had been placed before them; because God, who is over all, had previously made their course peaceful, and had restrained the wrath of the worshippers of Demons in the cities, by the fear of the great Empire. Consider then, If there had not been something to restrain those who had been stupified with the error of a plurality of Gods, how they would have contended with the Doctrine of Christ. For, you would doubtless have seen in every city and village, commotions (stirred up) against each other, with persecutions and wars of no mean description [8], had the worshippers of the Demons possessed the sovereign rule over us[9]. But now, this also is a work of the God who is over all, that He might subdue

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[8] It must be borne in mind, that this refers solely to the times in which the Apostles preached: for, in these, they generally suffered no persecutions, except from the unbelieving Jews. We have a remarkable instance illustrative of this argument recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, (ch. xxii. 23—30): where it is evident that, if Paul had not been a Roman, or had omitted to stand upon his privilege as such, he would have been scourged, if not put to death, by the Centurion: and also, that if no Centurion had been there, he would have been stoned to death by the Jews. The Roman power therefore, although afterwards a persecuting one, did contribute certainly to the furtherance of the Gospel.—This argument is urged also above, Book III. sect. 1. seq.; and in the Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 10, also in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. xvi. p. 541.

[9] Syr. ܥܠ ܕܝܠܢ. Gr. *τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν*: where our translator seems to have read *τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίαν*.

the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom. For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind: and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect.—When any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants[1] for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not[2] instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these[3]? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret[4] the nature of their superiority: at that time[5] they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God: while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess

[1] Syr. ܫܠܡܝ. Gr. ἀθλητῶν.

[2] The negative is wanting in the Latin translation here, but not in the Greek.

[3] Reference (see also Eccl. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. ix. p. 293. B.) is probably here made to some of those marvellous things done in ancient times in favour of God's Church. In the Ecclesiastical History of our Author, the deliverance from Egypt is thus compared with the erection of the Christian Church. Paulus Orosius makes a similar comparison, (Lib. vii. cap. xxvii. See my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 309—10.), and Lactantius treats this matter much at length in his admirable Tract, "*De mortibus Persecutorum.*" See also, on the death of Domitian, Suetonius, Lib. xi. cap. xvi. seq. Galerius was the instigator of the last persecution. See his miserable end. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xvi. p. 257. seq. See also, ib. Lib. ix. cap. vi. p. 287. ib. cap. x. p. 297. B. C. ib. p. 298. D. seq. also Constantini orat. ad Sanct. cœt. cap. xxiv. xxv.

[4] Wanting in the Greek, ib. p. 140. D.

[5] Syr. ܗܘ, by an error of the press, for ܗܢ.

their wickedness in opposing our Saviour[6]! But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew,—being brought through trials,—the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, THE WORD, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands.

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[6] This, although hinting—it may be—at the plagues of Egypt, and the fall of Pharaoh and his host, has more immediate reference to the Roman Emperors, who took an active part in the persecutions of the Church. See the authorities just referred to, particularly Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VIII. cap. xvii. p. 257. This part closes with Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. ib. p. 141. A.

The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Cæsarea, which are called "The Divine Manifestation."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Preface, Page iv. on the term "Theophanīa."

In our Author's Commentary on Ps. xlix. (Heb. l.) v. 2, on the words *εὐπρέπεια δὲ ὡραιότητος.* (Heb.) *"the perfection of beauty:"* we have, *ἡ ἔνδοξος αὐτοῦ θεοφανία·* (of our work, *θεοφάνεια*; and ib. pp. 522. C. 524. D.) *ταύτην καὶ τό· ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανῶς ἥξει, δηλοῖ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων κρινόμενος ἐσιώπα· οὐδὲ τοσαῦτα πάσχων ἠμύνατο, οὐδὲ πᾶσιν ἐδείκνυ τὴν ἰδίαν θεότητα. τότε δὲ φησὶν ἐμφανῶς ἥξει καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται."* κ. τ. λ. "*Species* autem *decoris* est gloriosa ejus theophania, quam aperte declaret illud: *Deus manifestè veniet.* In primo itaque adventu suo, dum ab hominibus judicio examinaretur, silebat, tantaque perpessus non sese ulciscebatur, nec omnibus suam exhibebat deitatem. *Tunc,* ait, *manifestè veniet et non silebit,*" &c. Which is sufficient to confirm what is said (p. 225) on Signior Mai's account of this matter.

Preface, Page xi.

I am happy to have it in my power to state, that the Rev. W. Cureton, Curator of the MS. department of the British Museum, intends to publish the Syriac versions, both of the work of Titus Bishop of Bozrah, and of the Recognitions of Clement, contained in the MS. from which our work is taken.

Preface, Page xxi.

It should seem, that the "Eclogæ Prophetarum," lately published by Dr. Gaisford at Oxford, was written during the last persecution, from the passages (p. 26)..."*μὴ δὲ μὴν σείεσθαι τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς διωγμῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος,*" κ.τ.λ....And again, (ib.) "*Ταῦτα δὲ φαμὲν, ἐπεὶ τάχα δόξειεν ἄντικρυς κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα διωγμόν.*" And, if this be the case, it must have been written before the Council of Nice was called together. It has been shewn (p. xxxiv. note) that Eusebius does, in this work, affirm that יְהוָה, *Jchovah,* of the Old Testament, was THE WORD, the Christ of God, revealed in the New. What then are we to think of the assertion of Athanasius (ib. p. xlv.) that, up to the times of the Council of Nice, Eusebius held the opinions of Arius, denying the divinity

of the Son? And, how are we to understand Montfaucon, when he tells us (p. xxvii. Prælim. Com. in Psalmos) that the "Tetragrammon יהוה, quod passim ait in his Commentariis uni Patri competere posse; semel in Commentario itemque semel in Demonstratione Evangelica, ait Filio nonnunquam adscriptione fuisse; *accommodate* scilicet, *neque proprie,* ut alibi de Dei appellatione dictum est?" Are we to take "*accommodate,*" and "*neque proprie,*" as the genuine sentiments of Eusebius, or only, as those ascribed to him by his opponent?—Of his opponent, no doubt. How then, is this "*accommodate*" now to be understood? Our Lord appeared in the Person of Jehovah, *really* I presume (see pages xxx. xxxiv.), for I dare not suppose this could have taken place in any other way. But I will not pursue aspersions of this sort. I will only add, Eusebius must have held the proper divinity of Christ, previous to the Council of Nice, and this as fully, as he held that of Jehovah.

Page xxviii., Note.

It will be seen, from various places in the preceding work, that the the term λόγος; Syr. ܡܶܠܬܳܐ, as occasionally remarked in the Notes, is variously applied. The following is our Author's own explanation of this term: (Eccles. Theol. Lib. II. cap. xiii. p. 120)..." *κέκληται γὰρ ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ καταβεβλημένος, καθ' ὃν τὸ λογίζεσθαι ἡμῖν πάρεστι· καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον, ἕτερος, ὁ διὰ γλώττης καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου σημαίνων τί· καὶ κατὰ τρίτον τρόπον, ὁ διὰ γραφῆς τῷ γραφεῖ συντεταγμένος. ἤδη δὲ λόγον ἐιώθαμεν καλεῖν καὶ τὸν σπερματικὸν, ἢ φυτικόν. καθ' ὃν δυνάμει τὰ μηδέπω φῦντα ἐναπόκειται τοῖς σπέρμασι μέλλοντα, ὅσον οὔπω τῆς ἐνεργείας εἰς φῶς προϊέναι. καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα ἑτέρως ἐιώθασιν ὀνομάζειν λόγον, τὸν ἐπιστημονικὸν τεχνῆς τινὸς ἢ ἐπιστήμης.*" κ.τ.λ. "Vocatur logos, id quod disponitur in anima rationali: unde contingit rationari. Est et logos secundo, quod significat aliquid, per linguam et vocem articulatam. Tertio, quod descripsit, et scribendo scriptor disposuit. Solemus et logon appellare significantem et nascentem facultatem; secundum quem dicuntur potestate esse, in seminibus illa, quæ nondum enata sunt, sed deinceps actu proditura sunt in lucem. Adhuc et alio modo, solemus logon usurpare, pro intellectiva artis alicujus, aut scientiæ facultate," &c. See pages 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 57, 61—3.

Page xlvi.

On the terms γενητὸς, γεννητὸς, see the Note of H. Steph. on Anaxagoras, p. 193. Edit. 1557. Also Holstein's Dissert. II. pp. 197—8. Eccles. Hist. Edit. Valesii, 1695.

Page lxxii.

I was incorrect in saying, that Montfaucon thought this extract from the Seventh General Council, too contemptible to deserve his notice: the truth is, he has cited it under the title, II. Nic. Act. VI. p. 491, in his Prælim. Com. in Psalmos, p. xxvii., where, I think it cannot be doubted, Eusebius of Nicomedia must be the person really meant: the sentiments there expressed being his, and not those of our Eusebius.

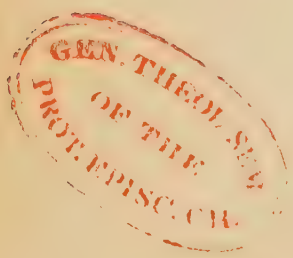
Page 170.

The expression ܒܪܝ̈ܚܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ, *gate-bars of Death,* is taken from Ps. cvi. 16. Gr. μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς.

Page 273.

On the interpretation of Heb. iv. 12; "*The Word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword,*" see Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce. Λόγος.

THE END.



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Eusebius

AUTHOR

On the Theophania

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